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ABSTRACT

The Miscellaneous section of the proceedings contains the following four papers from the Media and Disability Interest Group, Public Relations Division, and the Visual Communication Division: "Technology and the Knowledge Gap: Two Barriers to Distance Education for the Person with a Disability" (Jeffrey Alan John); "Hoddle's Twaddle: Defining Disability through British Sports Coverage" (Beth A. Haller and Sue Ralph); Mythic Battle: Examining the Lawyer-Public Relations Counselor Dynamic" (Bryan H. Reber, Fritz Cropp, and Glen T. Cameron); and "John-John's Salute: How a Photographic Icon Influenced Journalistic Construction of Reality" (Meg Spratt). (RS)

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Technology and the Knowledge Gap:
Two Barriers to Distance Education
for the Person with a Disability

A paper presented to the
Media and Disability Interest Group
Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication
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August, 2000

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Technology and the Knowledge Gap: Two Barriers to Distance Education for the Person with a Disablity

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This paper discusses two accessibility problems for the student with a disability in utilizing distance education: First, technical problems related to course design create barriers or negate assistive technology used by persons with disabilities. Second, problems related to the social environment from which the student with a disability encounters distance education programs create a social barrier. This paper argues that access to distance education programs will be more affected by issues of social rights than by issues of technical access, and that the Knowledge Gap Hypothesis offers a framework for analysis of this issue.

Technology and the Knowledge Gap:

Two Barriers to Distance Education for the Person with a Disability

by
Jeffrey Alan John
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Technology-driven distance education has become a buzz-word for higher education moving into the 21st century. Discussion ranging from stodgy theory to breathless commercial marketing advocates the spread of learning via computer programs and systems that in many cases didn't exist a decade ago.

At the same time, the Americans With Disabilities Act and other social and legal forces have motivated post-secondary education to work toward accommodating the student with a disability. New technologies such as screen readers and voice recognition computer software has had increasing impact in the last decade as well.

It is likely that in the near future these trends will converge at mass communication instruction. Mass media have been identified already as career fields with relatively few impediments for the person with a disability (Popovich and Willis, 1986; John, 1990). Explains Edwards, "Of the typical jobs in a medium or small daily newspaper newsroom, only in two areas might a person with a disability encounter physical difficulties: street reporters and photographers. However, even these positions can be (and are being) successfully filled by persons with disabilities" (1994, p. 107).

In addition, distance education (also known as distributed education and distance learning) is beginning to be considered in some communication education. A recent search of available distance education curricula (Hughley, 2000) found a basic media writing course, and a state-funded Oregon pilot program provided three journalism courses in 1995 (Reese, Statvisky, Gleason & Ryan, 2000). Other communication courses are available on-line, and programs in English, humanities and social sciences, where mass media courses often abide in small and non-accredited programs, are among the most frequently available distance education courses (Lewis, Snow, Farris, Levin, & Greene, 1999). Without question, writing skills courses are appropriate for adaptation to distance learning, because their content and structure is particularly amenable to computer- and internet-mediated formats.

Yet despite the apparently close fit among the student with a disability, media studies and distance education, and regardless of the hype that now surrounds distance education programs and projects, the reality is that students with disabilities will be an audience that does not utilize distance education. The purpose of this paper is to discuss problems for the student with a disability in utilizing distance education as a result of two accessibility issues: First, technical problems related to course design and implementation, already identified by disability activists, impose barriers or negate assistive technology used by persons with disabilities. Second, problems related to the social environment from which the student with a disability encounters distance education programs, and in fact higher education in general, create a social barrier. This paper argues that access to distance education programs will be more affected by issues of social rights than by issues of technical access, and that the Knowledge Gap Hypothesis offers a framework for analysis of this issue.

The promise of distance education for the student with a disability

The capabilities of distance education in mass media, and its emphasis on new technologies, would seem to be ideal for the student with a disability who chooses to pursue a media career. Norman Coombs, a history professor at Rochester Institute of Technology, chairman of Equal Access to Software and Information (EASI) and one of the nation's best-known authorities in distance education and accessibility for students with disabilities, found almost by accident that electronic mail and captioned television instruction aided students with disabilities in the classes. (1989) He further observed

> In a computer conference, participants function on an unusually equal footing. The very anonymity which many find blocking their trying the system allows the physically handicapped to go unnoticed. The handicapped, once having

learned the basic technologies, can participate equally with the disability being invisible (Using Distance Education, p. 3).

In a more recent paper, Coombs adds that the use of electronic delivery allows institutions to connect with students who are unable to visit lecture halls, to organize on-line student discussions in which the student who is shy or unwilling to be seen may more comfortably participate, and to encourage discussion of sensitive topics or social issues. "Computer discussion tends to flatten relationships and decentralize power and reduce status barriers," he says ("What's so hot," p. 1).

A pair of history professors at the University of Wisconsin-Madison provided their own list of advantages after producing an undergraduate history course, History 102, consisting of 30 televised lectures, a web site and discussion sections. The class, offered with success since 1991, "… has freed students from the tyranny of the clock.…Over the years many student with learning disabilities, physical disabilities, child care responsibilities, jobs to help pay their way through college, or those for whom English is a second language, have made extensive use of this course" (Schultz and Tishler, 1998, p. 1).

In light of these advantages, it is not surprising that evidence indicates some schools are turning to distance education in order to attract the student with a disability. A 1995 survey of post-secondary institutions found that of higher education institutions offering distance education a that time, 16 percent, or roughly 63 institutions, had included individuals with disabilities as potential targets for distance education courses. Although the survey did not identify the schools, results indicated greatest interest in marketing distance education to students with disabilities occurred at public two-year institutions and at institutions with 10,000 or more students enrolled. (National Center for Educational Statistics, 1997, p.17)

One illustration of those figures was supplied in an examination of strategies used by a community college to reach learners in narrowly defined categories that the authors called "niches." According to the authors at Chattanooga State Technical Community College, one of five niches is the student with a disability (Miller, Hyatt, Brennan, Bertani & Trevor, 1999).

The problems of distance education for the student with a disability

Despite the capabilities that would appear to match the unique and varied needs of students with disabilities, and the marketing efforts that target those students, considerable factors work against successful matches between students with disabilities and distance learning. Some of these already are well known; others are more subtle, but more intractable.

The most well known barriers involve access to the new technologies that are in many cases at the heart of distance education efforts. Borchert (1998) observed that historically, Federal Communication Commission policy has guaranteed "universal service," meaning communication wires everywhere, but not "universal access," or the means to connect in a meaningful way to those wires. Because this was considered inadequate for modern needs, and out of compliance with the 1991 Americans with Disablities Act, the 1996 Telecommunications Act adopted a deregulatory approach that was intended to use the marketplace to ensure access for persons with disabilities. Borchert explains, "For instance, it includes guidelines ensuring closed captioning in video programming and required the FCC to investigate the possibility of regulations regarding video description services for persons who are blind or have low vision." (p. 59)

The law, however, advocates but does not require specific equipment and technologies that could provide access for people with disabilities. "The law misses the opportunity to more clearly mandate accessibility and ensure that cyberspace is a realm open to all," Borchert says (p. 60), and he concludes that without guaranteed access to cyberspace, persons with disabilities "may find themselves in an electronic ghetto, disenfranchised because they are unable to gain access to the mechanisms of contemporary communication" (p. 61).

On a more specific level relative to distance education, institutions of higher education have found that legal requirements, especially those assured by the ADA, have them struggling to guarantee access for students with disabilities. The same cutting-edge technologies that enable some students to easily navigate web sites also create barriers for some students with disabilities, and "the very nature of distance education makes this [regulatory] burden complex and often difficult to comply with," says Ron Stewart, coordinator of the Northwest Center for Technology Access at Oregon State University (1998). For example, web page graphics are useless to the student with a vision impairment, audio instruction doesn't help the student with hearing impairment, and software requiring extensive mouse-clicks is difficult for the student with motor impairment.

Stewart observes that students with disabilities must be guaranteed "equal and equitable access" to distance education programs. If the delivery system or instructional method limits their participation, students have a right under the law to reasonable accommodation, such as wheelchair access to remote classroom sites, accessible web pages, alternative media (such as taped or Braille versions of texts), note-takers, interpreters and alternative testing modes.

Not surprisingly, these access issues don't occur to many course developers. "Many students with disabilities find that Web sites' technological extravaganzas are more of a burden than an aid," observes Carnevale (1999, p. A69). According to Carnevale, many courses are prepared by faculty members who only incorporate access as an afterthought, and some popular software compounds the problem. For example, web page frames confound screen text readers, and illustrations often have no audio equivalent for those with hearing impairments. Adding to the complexity of adaptation, fixes must vary by disability and the level of technology. Perhaps most important, attending to appropriate access requires adequate funding.

While access issues have been identified, if not solved, a second factor has potentially far greater impact on disabled students' access to distance education. This factor is the socio-economic status of persons with disabilities, and the implications of the knowledge gap hypothesis for their involvement in distance education.

The knowledge gap hypothesis, first proposed by Tichenor, Donohoe and Olien (1970), suggests in its most fundamental sense that individuals from a higher socio-economic status will acquire information from the mass media at a relatively greater rate than individuals from lower socio-economic strata, so that a gap in knowledge will tend to increase. The hypothesis has been tested extensively, with studies analyzing gaps in knowledge of energy issues affected by education level (Griffin, 1990); knowledge of the 1992 U.S. presidential campaign affected by education, interest in the campaign and newspaper attention to the campaign (Kwak, 1999); knowledge of HIV and AIDS, measured in two waves and confirming the effect of education (Wanta & Elliot, 1995); and many others. Gaziano, in two compilations of knowledge gap studies (1983, 1997), counted 97 knowledge gap studies, not counting doctoral dissertations, masters theses and professional papers, and concluded that "the most consistent result is the presence of knowledge differentials, regardless of topic, methodological or theoretical variations, study excellence or other variables and conditions" (1997, p. 240).

Of concern for this paper is recognition that knowledge gaps are dependent on socioeconomic variables. "The consequences are especially severe for those groups most negatively affected by social and economic changes," Gaziano notes (1997, p. 254). This observation is more closely analyzed by Chatman and Pendelton (1995), who described media use by the poor as influenced by social conditions. They comment, "Poor people can be characterized as living in an impoverished information world. It is one in which mass media exposure does not yield new information to assist them and one in which interpersonal channels are closed" (p. 139).

That condition is unfortunately all too accurate for many persons with disabilities. A 1986 Louis Harris survey of adults with disabilities suggested that "not working is perhaps the truest definition of what it means to be disabled in this country." (qtd. in Vachon, 1990) Put in more concrete terms, in 1989 about 28 percent of people with a work disability qualified as in poverty, compared to 11 percent of the total working-age population, according to Vachon. Those figures are little changed today: recent government statistics indicate a poverty rate of just over 25 percent of persons described as "disabled" (Short, U.S. Census Bureau, 2000).

Not surprisingly, the socioeconomic status of individuals with disabilities has an effect on the ability to enter and to succeed in higher education. Fewer students with disabilities enter postsecondary education (63 percent) than students without disabilities (72 percent) (Horn and Berktold, 1999). In addition, about 27 percent of students with disabilities enter college from lower income backgrounds, compared to 22 percent of students without disabilities, and students with disabilities have about 10 percent lower rates of persistence (the ability to stay in school) than students without disabilities (National Center for Educational Statistics, 1996).

These grim numbers are likely to have a profound impact on the ability of students with disabilities to utilize distance education's potential. As the statistics indicate, disability and low income go hand in hand; according to the knowledge gap hypothesis, the individual with a disability who is in a low socio-economic category is less likely to be in a position to acquire information about distance education opportunities. In addition, even if the information is acquired, the student with a disability would be all too often unlikely to have an income level sufficient to enroll, or to purchase appropriate technology that could make distance education a realistic opportunity. Unfortunately, no information currently available allows a direct test of the knowledge gap hypothesis and its relation to students with disabilities in distance education. Distance education programs are so new, and enrollment numbers are so relatively low, that figures have not yet been compiled for release.

Although concrete evidence has not yet emerged, anecdotal observation is useful. Smith (1994) cautioned that when new technology is made available, a "time lag" until the technology reaches wide acceptance often is the result of a lack of access to information. He notes

> Sometimes those who need assistive devices the most are unaware of what is available to help them. The state of Massachusetts found in a survey that more than 75 percent of the people with disabilities said they needed more information on assistive devices. A majority also noted that they are dissatisfied with the information available on these devices and services" (p. 128).

Conclusion

Distance education will have an impact in the future of U.S. higher education, although the extent of that impact is yet to be determined. It is likely that mass communication education will be a part of that growth because the medium fits the subject so well.

Proponents of distance education say that this mode of education also fits students with disabilities, because they are among the populations whose needs fit the technological capabilities of distance education programs.

However, this paper suggests that students with disabilities will not be able to utilize distance education programs because of two major problems. First, students with disabilities often encounter technological barriers to use of distance education courses. Second, based on predictions related to the knowledge gap hypothesis, it is likely that students with disabilities come from populations that are unable or unwilling to utilize information that would introduce the capabilities of distance education, and even if they are introduced to the possibilities, the disabled potential student would be financially unable to afford the technology necessary to utilize the capabilities of distance education courses.

This is not to suggest these problems are insurmountable. The technology access problem is well known, and organized offices, such as the National Center for Accessible Media <http://www.wgbh.org/wgbh/pages/ncam> , provide assistance to assure access. One well known mechanism provided by the Center for Applied Special Technology (CAST) is "Bobby," a web based analysis tool <http://www.cast.org/bobby> that provides detailed suggestions to assure accessible web page design. Other sites include the AWARE Center, developed by Accessible Web Authoring Resources and Education <http://aware.hwg.org>; and the Web Accessibility Initiative (WAI) <http://www.w3.org/WAI/>

Social problems indicated by knowledge gap studies are less easily solved. The issues of low income among people with disabilities are directly related to the employment of people with disabilities. The Americans with Disabilities Act established the basic rights in this fight, but backlash, ignorance and misunderstanding continue to impede progress. It is mystifying that even advocates of "disability culture" seem to disregard the poverty and unemployment that is so obviously a characteristic of the population of persons with disabilities. Until these issues are tackled affirmatively, basic economic problems will keep students with disabilities out of distance education programs that could be invaluable avenues to academic and social achievement.

To promote that progress, further study is called for in several areas. Accurate figures are needed to determine the actual extent of distance education, as opposed to the exalted numbers flashed by software marketing representatives. One recent report outlining the results of a national survey suggested the recent numbers provide "a touch of reality to the hype surrounding the rush to distance education and the rise and fall of virtual universities in the last two to three years (Boettcher, 2000, p. 36). Obviously researchers need some basic figures describing use of these courses and programs by students with disabilities. Studies might profit by looking at actual enrollment figures (which will become available in time), and by surveying students with disabilities who enroll in these courses. Only with solid data will we be able to determine if the suggestions of the knowledge gap hypothesis are accurate in this area.

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HODDLE'S TWADDLE: DEFINING DISABILITY THROUGH BRITISH SPORTS COVERAGE

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Hoddle's Twaddle:
Defining Disability through British Sports Coverage

Abstract

In this study of British news media, we undertook a qualitative assessment of the discourse surrounding negative comments about disabled people made by the English national soccer coach in 1999. These comments by Coach Glenn Hoddle led to a five-day media frenzy and his subsequent resignation as national soccer coach. This analysis investigates the news narratives about disabled people that arise in British society when these narratives intersect with the British national sport, soccer.

Hoddle's Twaddle:
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In this study of British news media, we undertook a qualitative assessment of the discourse surrounding negative comments about disabled people made by the English national soccer coach in 1999. These comments by Coach Glenn Hoddle led to a five-day media frenzy and his subsequent resignation as national soccer coach. This analysis investigates the news narratives about disabled people[1] that arise in British society when these narratives intersect with the British national sport, soccer.

In addition, news media content allows us to view cultural codes about disability in Western societies. British news media workers, people with conscious and unconscious perceptions about people with disabilities, ply their trade in a culture dominated by an ableist view that disabled persons are different or deviant (Davis, 1999; Pelka, 1998; Linton, 1998). This ableist view presents people with disabilities as inferior to able-bodied people and as "defective" or as having a worthless status (Weeber, 1999; Pelka, 1998). Davis (1999) explains that although much of the analysis of capitalism, imperialism, and cultural hegemony has excluded people with disabilities, "an ableist cultural hegemony is clearly the rule, not only in totalitarian states but in socialist and progressive states" (p. 36). This British media case study of the Hoddle affair assesses how those journalists, editors, photographers, and cartoonists, reflect those cultural beliefs and may present them back to society as news "facts" in their coverage.

Qualitative content analysis as method

Studying mass media content through qualitative means enables researchers to analyze various aspects of society and media. Therefore, researchers can delineate the characteristics of a particular culture by investigating the content of its mass media. "The basic assumption is that both changes and regularities in media content reliably reflect or report some feature of the social reality of the moment" (McQuail, 1989, p. 178). But as Wright says, "Mass media content does not 'speak for itself,' however. Its meaning may not be self-evident. Media content can be classified and analyzed from a variety of perspectives" (1986, p. 125). This qualitative case study on the Glenn Hoddle affair, for example, helps us to understand specific characteristics of British society's presentation of disabled people through news media coverage.

John Clogston (1989, 1990a, 1990b, 1991, 1992a, 1992b, 1992c, 1993a, 1993b) illustrated that researchers can understand, by studying media content, whether disabled people were still being presented in stigmatizing, traditional ways, or whether they were being presented in a more progressive, disability rights manner. This news media coverage of the Hoddle affair reflects the status of disabled people in British society, because as Higgins (1992) says, we as a society "make disability" through our language, media, and other public and visible ways. Media depictions help us understand the media's role in "constructing" people with disabilities as different and their role in framing many types of people who may not fit with "mainstream" constructions. These media images affect society as a whole, but they also have implications for the self-concept of people with disabilities themselves. Zola

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[1] This article uses both U.S.- and U.K.-preferred terminology, when referring to people with disabilities (U.S.) and

(1991) said societies give disabled people a dual message through the media. On the one hand, stories about the successes of people with disabilities illustrate that they can live full, happy, goal-oriented lives. On the other hand, the message of success sets up expectations that all disabled people must try to meet. This message "states that if a Franklin Delano Roosevelt or a Wilma Rudolph could OVERCOME their handicap, so could and should all the disabled. And if we fail, it is **our** problem, **our** personality, **our** weakness" (Zola, 1991, p. 161). Higgins adds that in U.S. culture "we present disability as primarily an internal condition that estranges disabled people from others" (1992, p. 19).

The notion of the "framing" of disabled people by news media lend credence to Graber's view (1989) that journalists select the content and frame of the news, thereby constructing reality for those who read, watch, or listen to their stories. But because the journalist and the audience usually are steeped in the same culture, an exchange of meanings can take place. Content analysis works within an understanding that most Western societies are now mass-mediated cultures in which its citizens understand "reality" through personal experience and mass media information. As Shoemaker and Reese explain: " If we assume that the media provide most of the 'reality' that people know outside their own personal experience, then studying media content surely helps us assess what reality it is that they consume" (1996, p. 28).

For example, content analyses have been used to study a wide range of media content, from ads in children's TV programming in the 1950s (Alexander, et al. 1998) to gender roles on MTV (Gow, 1996), to the ideological content of TV news magazine's portrayal of crime

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disabled people (U.K.).

(Grabe, 1999). All these analyses reveal the underlying meanings within media texts and their implications within the social culture. Janowitz explains that the content of the mass media can provide two contrasting indicators of social culture: "The contents of the mass media are a reflection of the social organization and value system of the society or group interest involved. Simultaneously, the contents of the mass media are purposive elements of social change, agents for modifying the goals and values of social groups" (1968, p. 648).

Qualitative methodology allows richness and is a context-based content analysis. It helps reveal the media frames and themes that are being used to characterize disabled people. As Christians and Carey explain about assessing news messages qualitatively: "Any significant event is surrounded by a web of connections that in some sense touch the whole of mankind and history" (Christians and Carey, 1981, p. 351). They say that a mission of qualitative studies is to better understand the interpretations of meaning that take place in media texts. The goal is to find out "what are the interpretations of meaning and value created in the media and what is their relation to the rest of life?" (Christians and Carey, 1981, p. 347). As Klaus Bruhn Jensen's says of how qualitative studies can be used in mass communication research: "Qualitative approaches examine meaning production as a process which is contextualized and inextricably integrated with wider social and cultural practices" (1991, p. 4).

As Altheide explains, this type of analysis documents and illuminates the communication of meaning between the media text and a culture (1996). This is crucial with regards to news about disabled people because Britain is trying to shift to become a more inclusive society. To follow Christians and Carey's notion (1981) that the qualitative researcher should assess verbal, nonverbal, and graphic symbols, this qualitative analysis of British media integrated elite and tabloid newspaper stories, photographs, headlines, layout, and cartoons for a full study of the messages and images that filtered from the Hoddle affair media event.

The Glenn Hoddle affair lent itself perfectly to a qualitative approach because it covers such a short time span, and narrative description can best illuminate the findings. As Altheide explains, the researcher within the qualitative approach is more reflexive and oriented toward narrative description (1996).

The Glenn Hoddle Comment and Media Coverage

The Glenn Hoddle event began with an interview with *The Times* on January 30, 1999. (See Figure 1, which discusses the timeline of media coverage.) Hoddle, started a national debate by claiming that disabled people were "paying the price of sin" (Dickinson, 1999 January 30, p. 33) and that "their disabilities were punishments for the sins of a former life" (Dickinson, 1999, p. 33). His exact words, which dominated the front page of nearly every British newspaper and led television and radio news bulletins in Britain for the next week were: "You and I have been given two hands and two legs and half-decent brains. Some people have not been born like that for a reason. The karma is working from another lifetime. I have nothing to hide about that. It is not only people with disabilities. What you reap, you sow" (Dickinson & Farrell, *The Times*, 1999, January 30, p. 1).

Hoddle's comments represent a major regressive step in interpreting the lives of disabled people. He harkens back to the rhetoric of the Bible and before, which placed disabled people firmly in a subhuman status because of the perceived "sin of disability," as one media story begins to refer to it (Dickinson & Farrell, 1999). In terms of media content, events such as the Hoddle affair illustrate the role of media in framing social events in a culture and therefore potentially redefining them (Gitlin, 1980; McCombs and Shaw, 1993).

Sourcing of media stories

To understand news media framing, it is crucial to examine to whom they turn to source their stories. Within the media framing of the Hoddle affair, one positive finding is that a number of disabled people are quoted in the stories. Unfortunately, even with that positive aspect, many of the overall stories still missed the horrific underpinnings of what Hoddle was suggesting. The stories were also more concerned with the controversy's impact on British soccer, than disabled people.

First, in analyzing what disabled people had to say about the controversy in the news coverage, the main finding is that the stories quoted disabled soccer fans, not disability rights spokespeople. For example, Britain's most prestigious newspaper, *The* (London) *Times*, went only to Highbury stadium, home of the Arsenal soccer team, which gave their stories a limited perspective from disabled people, only those who live in the London area and only those who are able to attend soccer matches (Steiner, 1999).

The focus of the story, which includes pictures of three disabled people outside the stadium, openly employs a "pity" narrative as it begins with an anecdote about a wheelchair user who once struggled to stand just to applaud Hoddle's soccer success. See Figure 2. On the other hand, the story did allow several disabled people to discuss their independence, civil rights and disability pride. Cathel O'Philbin was quoted as saying: "Disabled people have fought long and hard for our independence and this is going back to the Victorian era. The guy has got his beliefs but you can't come out with something like that. I feel terrible. I am proud of my disability. I don't want to change it, I want to change society and his comments make it seem as if we are the problem, not society" (Steiner, 1999, February 1, p. 7). This type of story illustrates that disabled people were commenting on the Hoddle affair, but the sample was too limited. Strong disability rights comments from disabled people like O'Philbin were few and far between. Instead the media typically turned to charities and other organizations run for disabled people rather than by them. Alongside this kind of quote from O'Philbin, the story contained a laundry list of comments from the Down's Syndrome Association, the Cheshire Foundation, National Association of Disabled Football Supporters, and Scope, Britain's largest disability charity (Steiner, 1999). The story also illustrates what became a theme in much of the media coverage of the Hoddle affair: Non-disabled people talking about disabled people because family, friend, or charity connections.

Some of my best friends are….

Many in Great Britain claimed to support disabled people after hearing Hoddle's comments, but many times their "support" was just as stigmatizing. Some people trotted out the hackneyed phrase "some of my best friends are …." For example, the "Big Frank" column in the tabloid *Daily Sport* commented," I have a very good disabled friend called Timmy Mapother who, despite being confined to a wheelchair, is perhaps the nicest person I've ever met. Poor Timmy suffers from cerebral palsy, but comes to most Lennox Lewis fights and is one of Nigel Benn's closest friends" (Maloney, 1999, February 2, p. 8). Accompanying the column is a photograph of the young man, Timmy, and his famous friend.

boxer Nigel Benn. See Figure 3. Maloney's column is an example of the many instances during the Hoddle affair in which famous people talked about any connection they had ever had with disabled people, such as meeting them at events, charitable connections, and people they knew who were disabled. They were keen to emphasize what they saw as any "achievement" of a disabled person, which they felt was positive. In so doing, they bolstered their own "disabled credentials."

Not only did the famous trot out their "disabled credentials," but so did many average Britons, especially if they had a disabled family member. However, once again people associated with soccer sourced the stories, rather that disability rights proponents. Chelsea soccer player, Roberto Di Matteo, who has a blind sister, says: "My sister has done nothing to deserve her disability" (Harris, White, & Roberts, 1999, February 1, p. 7). The story goes on to quote a person who has a "wheelchair-bound" daughter, the chair of the National Association of Disabled Football Supporters, the chair of Incapacity Action, and a variety of disabled people such as "spina bifida sufferer Anthony Jay" and "cerebral palsy sufferer and soccer fan Dale Welland, 13" (Harris, White, & Roberts, 1999, February 1, p. 7). Although the numerous sources with disabilities or connections with disability may be interpreted as positive, the theme of the story reaches into pity and tragedy narratives, rather than activism or civil rights narratives. The implication is how could Glenn Hoddle say such things about disabled people, who have "suffered enough." One mother of a teen with muscular dystrophy even links the pain of her son's recent operation to the pain of Hoddle's comments: "Chris just had a major operation. He has done nothing wrong to anybody in this life or any other" (Steiner, 1999, February 1, p. 7).

Even Glenn Hoddle himself tried to play up his "disabled credentials" to mitigate his negative comments. In addition to saying his comments in *The Times* were misinterpreted, Hoddle tried to repair his "disabled credentials" with the following comments:

> "If I am still in charge of England against France, I'll walk past the disabled section of the crowd. I always had a good rapport with them, and it will be no different on the night. I know the work I have done for them in the past and I'll be able to deal with the situation within myself. . . .my major concern is to put the record straight as far as the disabled are concerned. . . .how could I walk into the home of disabled people after all the work I've done for them if I believed the things I've been reported as saying? ("I didn't insult," Daily Sport, 1999, February 2, p. 30).

Hoddle is trying to cast himself a disabled supporter in his quote, but he mentions no specific disability-related activities, except waving to disabled people in the stadium. He implies he has disabled friends by mentioning their homes, but no disabled person came forward claiming friendship with him or supporting his contention that he had been misunderstood. Even his 13-year-old daughter, Zara, tried to give him "disabled credentials" by sending a letter to the BBC Ceefax service that said: "I would just like to say that I am very supportive of disabled people, so is my Dad..." ("Daughter wants to end hassle," The Times, 1999, February 3, p. 6).

Disabled people as child-like victims

In specifically looking at the visual images within the Hoddle affair media coverage, the analysis used Knoll's (1987) categories for assessing the photos of disabled people in a qualitative way. Based on Knoll's criteria, one might look for whether the person with a disability is shown as helpless in photographs or whether the people with disabilities are being shown as victims or pitiable. One of Knoll's interpretive categories tries to assess whether visual images of people with disabilities are portraying them as childlike or as children.

In the Hoddle affair, a number of examples of photos of disabled people included angelic disabled children holding soccer balls, yet also referring to them as "victims"(*Sun*, February, 1, 1999, p. 6). For instance, the front page of the tabloid, *The Sun*, featured a "one legged school boy soccer star." The school boy was even referred to as "brave lad." The headline continues with the pity narrative by saying "I've only got one leg, so how could you be so hurtful to me Hoddle?" (Askill, 1999, February 1, p. 1). See Figure 4. The images, layout, and story merge to present a narrative of tragedy about the "brave lad," who already is "one-legged" and is in "agony over Glenn Hoddle's rant against disabled people" (Askill, 1999, February 1, p. 1). These types of bold tabloid narratives present Britain with an image of disabled people as children (literally) and as mired in the tragedy of their fate, which Hoddle has increased with his comments.

Another full-page spread in the tabloid combines children with disabilities, disabled adults, and sports figures to explain that Hoddles comments have further "victimized" them. "Cerebral palsy sufferer Jemma broke down in tears when she heard Hoddle's cruel comments," *The Sun* says (1999, February 1). The "wheelchair-bound Manchester United fan" supposedly "sobbed" when being interviewed, but the photo image of her is a smiling teen holding a soccer ball. ("Sack Hoddle," 1999, February, 1). See Figure 5. However, for readers who already believe disability is a "tragedy," Jemma Hardy need not cry for the camera: all that is needed for meaning to be exchanged is the corner of her power wheelchair to be visible. Other disabled people in the same full-page spread are called "victims" and "sufferers." Still other images of disabled people in the Hoddle affair coverage had a patronizing WWI "feel," by showing people in wheelchairs whose legs are covered by blankets and being pushed by others (*Daily Star*, 1999, February1, p. 5). These, too, pictured disabled people as "victims." See Figure 6.

These types of references are the antithesis to a disability rights perspective. This perspective contrasts with the reigning stigmatizing view of people with disabilities, which has adopted a medical or social welfare perspective in which disability is seen as a physical problem alone residing within individuals (Scotch, 1988; Clogston, 1990a). The disability rights perspective views disability as a phenomenon created by society, which has yet to modify its architectural, occupational, educational, communication, and attitudinal environments to accommodate people who are physically different (Bowe, 1978). In the rights perspective, physical difference is acknowledged, and even celebrated as an ethnicity might be by some, but the focus is away from the disabled individual as the problem and on society's structures instead. Instead, these categories of media images present the problems disabled people face as lying within themselves and their physical "problems," not within British society's barriers.

The "sin" of disability

Finally, many visual images tied together religious themes, Hoddle's soccer coaching, and disability. For many years controversy surrounded Hoddle due to his connections to born-again Christianity, reincarnation, and faith healing. His comments about "the sin of disability" allowed several cartoonists to connect sin and religion to their criticism of Hoddle. For example, a *Daily Star*, a tabloid newspaper, illustration showed a Moses- like face, lightening striking, and a headline that said "You'll be back as a slug, Hod" (Paul, 1999, February 1, p. 4/5). See Figure 6. Another headline on the same page is written in a biblical style script and says, "Thou shalt not talk twaddle Hoddle" (*Daily Star*, 1999, February 1, p.4). In a like manner *The Independent*, a newspaper of prestige, openly ridiculed Hoddle in a cartoon called the "Loss of faith healing," which shows many different hands trying to wrench his coaching jacket from him with the comment, "It's a laying of hands to release your sprit from this worldly overcoat" (Brown, 1999, February 3, p.3). Although many of the stories had claimed to be supporting disabled people, these cartoons illustrate that many in the media are actually against "the sin" of being Glenn Hoddle.

However, one very interesting cartoon in *The Times* did tie together sin, disability, and the Glenn Hoddle affair. This cartoon plugs into cultural phobias about AIDS, which many fundamentalist Christians have associated with sin. The cartoon features two chimps reading a media story blaming them for the AIDS epidemic. They are complaining about this "sin of AIDS "that they supposedly caused in humans, and are saying "…which probably means we'll come back as Glenn Hoddle!" (Brookes, February, 2, 1999, p. 4). See Illustration 7. Cartoonist Peter Brookes selected probably the only disability, AIDS, he could get away with also associating with sin in poking fun at Hoddle's comments. Other cartoonists were reticent in depicting other types of disability because they rightfully took care not to offend.

In spite of the fact that many news stories featured disabled people as sources, the news media missed the horrific implications of Hoddle's statement. *The Independent* called the Hoddle statement "a Gaffe" and even questioned the accuracy of Hoddle's media quotes about disabled people in a soccer column (Townsend, 1999, January 31). Although admitting the statement was insensitive, the soccer columnist called it "quasi – religious doggeral" and compared it to something from Monty Python (Townsend, 1999, January 31). Columns such as these truly reinforced what was seen as the most important aspect of Hoddle's comments: Their impact on the national game of soccer, and more importantly, the effects on the national soccer team.

Finally, these were not Hoddle's first comments about disabled people, but they were his only ones after the soccer World Cup. Hoddle made similar comments about disabled people in May 1998, before the World Cup. The quick request by many in Britain to oust him as head soccer coach in 1999 can easily be seen as being linked to the national team's poor performance in the World Cup and more recent failures, rather than actual concern for disabled people. In his previous comments in an interview on BBC Radio 5 Live on May 17, 1998, Hoddle discussed " people with physical deformities" when talking about his reincarnation beliefs: "At the moment there is an imbalance. Why are some people born into the world with terrible physical deformities, while other families may be physically perfect? .....We are the ones that are making this imbalance individually and as a group of souls down here on earth" (Reid, 1999, January 31, p. 21).

This pre-World Cup quote, which also ties into a perceived "sin of disability," illustrates that British society and the British media were not concerned about negative comments about disabled people; otherwise, they would have called for his resignation before the World Cup. In this quote, Hoddle is saying something that has implications for more than just disabled people but for their families as well. In this statement, he is locating the "sin of disability" within the "sin" of an entire family. In Glenn Hoodle's philosophy, this means that parents of a child with Down syndrome must have been sinners in a past life. However, this equally offensive comment spawned no outrage when Britons thought they still had a chance in the World Cup. It was actually because of a continuing poor performance by the British national soccer team, that British society, and the British media as their representatives, suddenly find offense with Hoddle's comments about disabled people in 1999.

Even the tabloid, *The Daily Sport,* said Hoddle's words about disabled people "have disgusted every right-minded person" (*Daily Sport*, 1999, February 2, p. 33). It went on to say Hoddle was psychologically fired in the minds of these right-minded people (even before his official resignation). Other newspapers expressed similar sentiments such as *The Express*, which said it conducted a poll, and announced that eight out of 10 readers wanted him to go. (Gallagher, February 2, 1999, p. 1). However, as the tabloid *Sport* pointed out in an editorial, it was really the public's displeasure with his coaching ability and not about his comments about disabled people that got him ousted: "They know he's not even a successful international manager" (*Daily Sport*, 1999, February 2, p. 8).

As Hall (1979) has explained, news media frames are "contested terrain" in which different sides of an issue battle for control over presentation and language. This is extremely apparent in the coverage of disability rights issues in the Glenn Hoddle affair, or lack thereof. Although *The Mirror* featured a non-stigmatizing front page photo of a disability rights protest at a soccer match, they called the protestors "these people" in the headline and spent the story talking about the soccer match, not disability issues (Walters and Dillon, 1999 February 1, p. 1). See Figure 8.

Conclusion and Discussion

The analysis of media content about disabled people is crucial in understanding their changing status in various societies. Because of the stigma heaped upon them in the past and the architectural, occupational, educational, communication, and attitudinal barriers still in place for many disabled people, many people in Western cultures get their information about people with disabilities and their issues from mass media sources. Analyzing media content allows us to assess if the disability rights perspective is making its way into societies. This perspective views disability as a phenomenon created by society, which has yet to modify its architectural, occupational, educational, communication, and attitudinal environments to accommodate people who are physically different (Bowe, 1978). In the rights perspective, physical difference is acknowledged, and even celebrated as an ethnicity might be by some, but the focus is away from the disabled individual as the problem and on society's structures instead.

This study of the media coverage of the Hoddle affair illustrates connections between media images and greater cultural traditions of how disabled people are presented. The findings show us how little progress the British media have made in presenting disability images. Similar to Blatt's findings in children's television of more than 20 years ago (1977), the media presented disabled people as models of evil, superheroes, and victims. These figures of evil, superheroes, objects of pity, and "sinners" being punished with disability have long been stereotypes of disabled people in fiction and literature (Langworthy, 1930; Weinberg & Santana, 1978; Kriegel,1982; Longmore, 1987; Zola, 1987; Thompson, 1996).

What Glenn Hoddle's comments did was thrust news media back to old stereotypes because of the religious themes he tied disability into. Hoddle's comment was an Old Testament reading of disability, which is that a physical defect may be punishment for sin. He was vocalizing what literature and drama have been presenting about disability for centuries. For example, Thurer's study of adult classic literature, children's literature, and drama found that in literature, "any outer defect has come to symbolize an inner defect" (1980, p. 12).

However, modern British society and the news media understood that it is now wrong to say this about disabled people, but this media study illustrates that they still hold many stigmatizing and stereotypical views of disability. The media continue to present stories, photos, and cartoons filled with pity, inspiration, and downright ignorance. Disabled people were depicted as "sufferers" and victims. They were presented as children or child-like. And with the narrative of "some of my best friends are…", the media collapsed the multi-faceted disability community into one characteristic: disabled. This fits exactly with Goffman's notion of stigma, when what would normally be perceived as broad image of someone is reduced to a single symbolic identity: disabled (1963).

Therefore, this study of the Hoddle affair shows us that the British media act as significant agents in socially constructing images of people with disabilities and disability issues. These news stories filter out into public consciousness and are typically viewed as representations of "reality" of the disability experience in Great Britain. Carey (1989) calls news stories culturally constructed narratives. Within this framework, news still has the power to inform, but Bird and Dardenne (1988) explain that the information audiences receive are not facts and figures but a larger symbolic system of news. As a method of communication, news can take on qualities like the myth. Both convey culture. Therefore, journalists are transmitters of the stories of a culture. "The journalist-storyteller is indeed using culturally embedded story values, taking them from the culture and re-presenting them to the culture. . . ." (Bird and Dardenne, 1988, p. 80).

The cultural messages that British journalists presented in the Hoddle affair reflect their own misconceptions about and fear of disabled people. Similarly, in the United States news media, Mitchell (1989) has asserted that the press usually misses stories related to disabled people, and when journalists do notice that they exist, they cover them as inspirational "SuperCrips" or as "helpless victims."

> The fact is that the press misses the boat largely because of a narrow view that pigeonholes people with disabilities and makes subconscious assumptions about who we are and what we do. . . .Insensitivity and stubborn ignorance characterize much press coverage of disability-related stories. The insensitivity is somewhat understandable, since most journalists have had little direct contact with those whom they might recognize as disabled. Just as in the case of racial and ethnic minorities, stereotypes rush in to fill the void (Mitchell, 1989, pp. 18-19).

Krossel explains the remedy to those stereotypes that quickly fill the void: "Hard-nosed reporting must replace cheap sentimentality and the creation of 'handicapped heroes'" (1988, p. 47). In the Hoddle affair coverage, there was little evidence of the hard-nosed reporting Krossel writes of. No stories assessed the barriers disabled people face in Great Britain; no stories discussed programs that are better integrating disabled people into British society. Instead, "handicapped heroes" were used to crucify an ineffectual national soccer coach.

There were some glimmers of hope in the media coverage of Hoddle affair because British journalists interviewed some disabled people, thereby allowing the disability rights narrative to flow through some of the stories. But mostly, the major newspapers in England presented many stories about disabled people and their issues within a framework similar to Clogston's "traditional" categories, meaning that people were presented as being disabled by a physical attribute, rather than a society's inaccessible structures.

So even at the beginning of the 21st century, this study illustrates that the British media still have not totally broken free of the cultural stereotypes about disabled people they have long perpetuated. Some stories in the Hoddle coverage are similar to findings by Biklen 13 years ago: When covering disability, reporters "typically cast in terms of tragedy, of charity and its attendant emotion, pity, or of struggle and accomplishment" (1987, p. 81). Biklen found that the themes of U.S. news stories about people with disabilities have become predictable. They focused on the angles of inspiration and courage or pity and victimization.

For example, Kenneth Jernigan, the longtime president of the National Federation of the Blind, succinctly explained how news media create stories within the haze of negative stereotypes and misconceptions about people with disabilities:

> A reporter . . .came to one of our meetings and said, 'I'd like to get pictures of blind persons bowling and of some of the members with their dogs.' I tried to explain to him that such a story would be a distortion -- that we were there to discuss refusal by employers to let us work, refusal by airlines to let us ride, refusal by hotels to let us stay, refusal by

> society to let us in, and refusal by social service agencies to let us out. He said he was glad I had told him and that it had been very helpful and enlightening. Then he added, 'Now, can I see the dogs and the bowlers? I'm in quite a rush' (Biklen, 1987, p. 82).

News media content gives us a blueprint of the cultural codes about disability in Western societies because all facets of the mass media are created by humans -- people with conscious and unconscious perceptions about people with disabilities. Their interaction with disabled persons may be impaired by a dominant ableist view of disabled persons as different or deviant (Davis, 1999; Pelka, 1998; Linton, 1998). This British media case study illustrates that journalists, editors, photographers, headline writers, and cartoonists, plying their trade in an ableist culture, tend to assimilate those cultural beliefs and present them back to their readers as news "facts."

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Timetable of Events

Sunday May 17 1998

BBC Radio 5 Live, interview

Friday 29 January 1999

Interview with Matt Dickinson, *The Times*
First Edition breaks story

Saturday 30 January 1999

Freda Murray, Chair, Disabled Supporters' Association calls Hoddle's comments 'Disgusting'.
BBC 1 Football Focus – Hoddle denies truth of *Times* story. Claims his words have been, 'misconstrued, misunderstood and misinterpreted'.
Football Association Spokesperson, Steve Double, describes Hoddle as 'An excellent supporter of the disabled'.
Football Supporters' Association accused Hoddle of 'placing a slur on the disabled'.
Hoddle attends Coventry -Liverpool game and promises business as usual.
FA issues further statement in support of Hoddle.
Chlelsea FC Chair, and FA Council member, Ken Bates, attacks Hoddle saying he has blundered because of his dealings with Eileen Drewery (Hoddle's friend and faith healer).

Sunday 31 January 1999

Sunday Telegraph reports Eileen Drewery as giving her support to Hoddle.
Strong public reaction against Hoddle reported in all Sunday papers.
FA Acting Chief Executive, David Davis appears on Radio 5 Live's 'Sports Week'. He says FA Chair, Geoff Thompson, will be summoning Hoddle to explain his remarks.
The Times issues a strong statement in defence of its story.

Monday 1 February 1999

Pressure mounts for Hoddle to go.
ITV's 'This Morning', Prime Minister, Tony Blair, says Hoddle's remarks, if true, are 'very wrong'.
Sports Minister, Tony Banks, and Football Task Force, Chair, David Mellor, adopt strong anti-Hoddle positions.
David Davis announces consultation with disabled fans' and players' groups and that FA will discuss Hoddle's position and issue a statement within 36 hours.
Teletext poll finds 82% in favour of Hoddle's going.
Bookmakers William Hill close their books on the odds of Hoddle's departure.
Hoddle refuses to resign.

Hoddle gives unrepentant interview to Sky Sports expressing sorrow for the public outcry but says, 'I didn't say those things as they've been reported'.
Hoddle's counter-offensive in full swing. Agent Denis Roach announces Hoddle will sue *Times*.
The Times Editor, Peter Stothard, says Hoddle's defensive position is 'incoherent'.
Senior FA officials and England sponsor, the Nationwide Building Society, hold talks over Hoddle's future.
ITV's *News at Ten* interview with Trevor MacDonald. Hoddle continues to deny comments about disabled people.

Tuesday 2 February 1999

Most newspapers call for dismissal. *Daily Telegraph* and *The Mirror* suggest way out (sever links with Eileen Drewery and make further apology).
Nationwide's Marketing Manager, Mike Lazenby, expresses concern. He says Hoddle is, 'remorceful not necessarily repentant'.
Delay of statement from FA.
FA announces Hoddle's contract terminated.

Figure 1.

HODDLE UNDER FIRE

Proud fans hurt by 'terrible' words

The England coach has talked his way out of his followers' affections, writes **Susie Steiner**

Stuart Thompson, left, and Derek Curry, on crutches, at Highbury, surprised at support from able-bodied people. Paul Williams, right, thinks the man he once struggled to give a standing ovation should resign

PAUL WILLIAMS used to be Glenn Hoddle's biggest fan. He did everything he could to lift himself out of his wheelchair when Hoddle's Chelsea team beat Arsenal at Stamford Bridge in 1996.

"I was determined to give the guy a standing ovation and I got some friends to help me out of my wheelchair," said Mr Williams yesterday, on his way to a rematch between the teams at Highbury.

But his hero has since implied that his inability to walk is a punishment for misdeeds in a past life.

"I used to really like him," Mr Williams, 32, said, "but now I think he should resign. I would love to play football the way he did and for him to turn around and say that to me is terrible. I am so disappointed in him."

His anger was shared by other disabled fans at Highbury, which has some of the best facilities for wheelchair users in Britain. Stuart Thomson, 36, was a firefighter until he developed multiple sclerosis eight years ago. "He must have been Attila the Hun in a previous life because now he's come back with a cerebral disability. He will get a lot of stick for this and I am surprised at the reaction from able-bodied people. It feels as if people are angry for the right reasons and that's nice."

Cathal O'Philbin, 38, from Walthamstow, East London, has a progressive disease that means he has to use a wheelchair. "I am outraged that somebody with such influence could come out with such a thing," he said yesterday. "Disabled people have fought long and hard for their rights and independence and this is going back to the Victorian era.

"The guy has got his beliefs but you can't come out with something like that. It feels terrible. I am proud of my disability. I don't want to change it. I want to change society and his comments make it seem as if we are the problem, not society."

Julie Paige was outside Arsenal with her 16-year-old wheelchair-using son, Chris, who has muscular dystrophy. "I was quite shocked when I heard it," Mrs Paige said. "Chris has just had a major operation. He has done nothing wrong to anybody in this life or any other.

"Hoddle should not have said it. Chris did not ask to be brought into the world with his disability. I think Hoddle should definitely resign."

Hoddle was expected to make an appearance at yesterday's Arsenal v Chelsea match but stayed away. Aggi Kyriacou, whose son Michael, 3, has muscular dystrophy, thought it was a good thing too. "My son has a genetic problem that we didn't know about until he was three. Maybe if Hoddle had a child like that himself he would not have made such a stupid statement."

Charities representing people with learning disabilities are to put together a joint response to Hoddle's comments. Carol Boys, director of the Down's Syndrome Association, said yesterday: "We have got to make some kind of response because people with learning disabilities may take his comments at face value. It would be dreadful if what he said made them believe they were suffering now for some kind of offence in a former life. It is a very cruel thing to have said. He should be much more responsible."

Scope, Britain's biggest disability charity, invited Hoddle to meet its members to explain his views. "He should not make assumptions about individuals who are disabled," Richard Brewster, the chief executive, said. "Most disabled people do not see themselves as 'suffering'. They have needs, aspirations and problems like non-disabled people."

Baroness Ryder of Warsaw, president of the Cheshire Foundation, said she thought the comments would be very disheartening to the disabled. "I believe that anybody with a disability is someone to look up to," she said. "They are an inspiration to each of us who is able bodied and set us an example of what can be achieved."

Colin Barcley, chairman of the National Association of Disabled Football Supporters, said: "Our members are absolutely furious and I've been inundated with calls. We've been trying to make sure disabled people can enjoy our national sport just like everyone else but Hoddle's comments have put that back."

FA chiefs will decide on his fate

By John Goodbody

A MEETING within the next 36 hours between Geoff Thompson, the acting FA chairman, and Glenn Hoddle will settle whether the England coach is on the brink of losing his £300,000-a-year job over his interview on reincarnation and the disabled.

If Thompson is not satisfied with the explanation, he will speak to Noel White, the Liverpool director and chairman of the FA International Committee, to whom Hoddle reports.

Thompson, the favourite to succeed as the next FA chairman, said yesterday of Hoddle: "I can state categorically that the views that he is alleged to have expressed are not those of the FA but we must give him the opportunity to explain himself." White

Howard Wilkinson: seen as likely caretaker

has already spoken to Hoddle. The England coach's contract expires after the 2000 European Championship to be played in Belgium and The Netherlands and for which England are currently trying to qualify. He succeeded in earning at least a further £100,000 a year from the FA after the World Cup, although England did not reach the quarter-finals. Hoddle had asked for £400,000 but settled for £300,000.

The FA would have to compensate Hoddle by at least £450,000 if he went this week. The governing body, which is not known for dramatic decisions, will see his interview in *The Times* as one of a series of public relations disasters which have haunted the game.

They have included his claim that had faith healer Eileen Drewery attended the World Cup finals, England would have performed better. His World Cup diary caused outrage because he detailed Paul Gascoigne's reaction to being dropped, a matter many people feel coaches should not publicise.

If Glenn Hoddle does go as England coach, he is likely to be succeeded by a caretaker appointment. The favourite would be Howard Wilkinson, who led Leeds United to the old First Division title and is now the FA's technical director. The FA will want a younger man as a long-term successor. Among the most suitable candidates are Kevin Keegan, who has signed a five-year contract until 2002 as the Fulham manager, and Bryan Robson, manager of Middlesbrough.

Arsène Wenger, of Arsenal, does not relish the pressure of holding the poisoned chalice of British sport. After the experiences of Bobby Robson, Graham Taylor, Terry Venables and Hoddle, many others will surely feel the same.

Figure 2.

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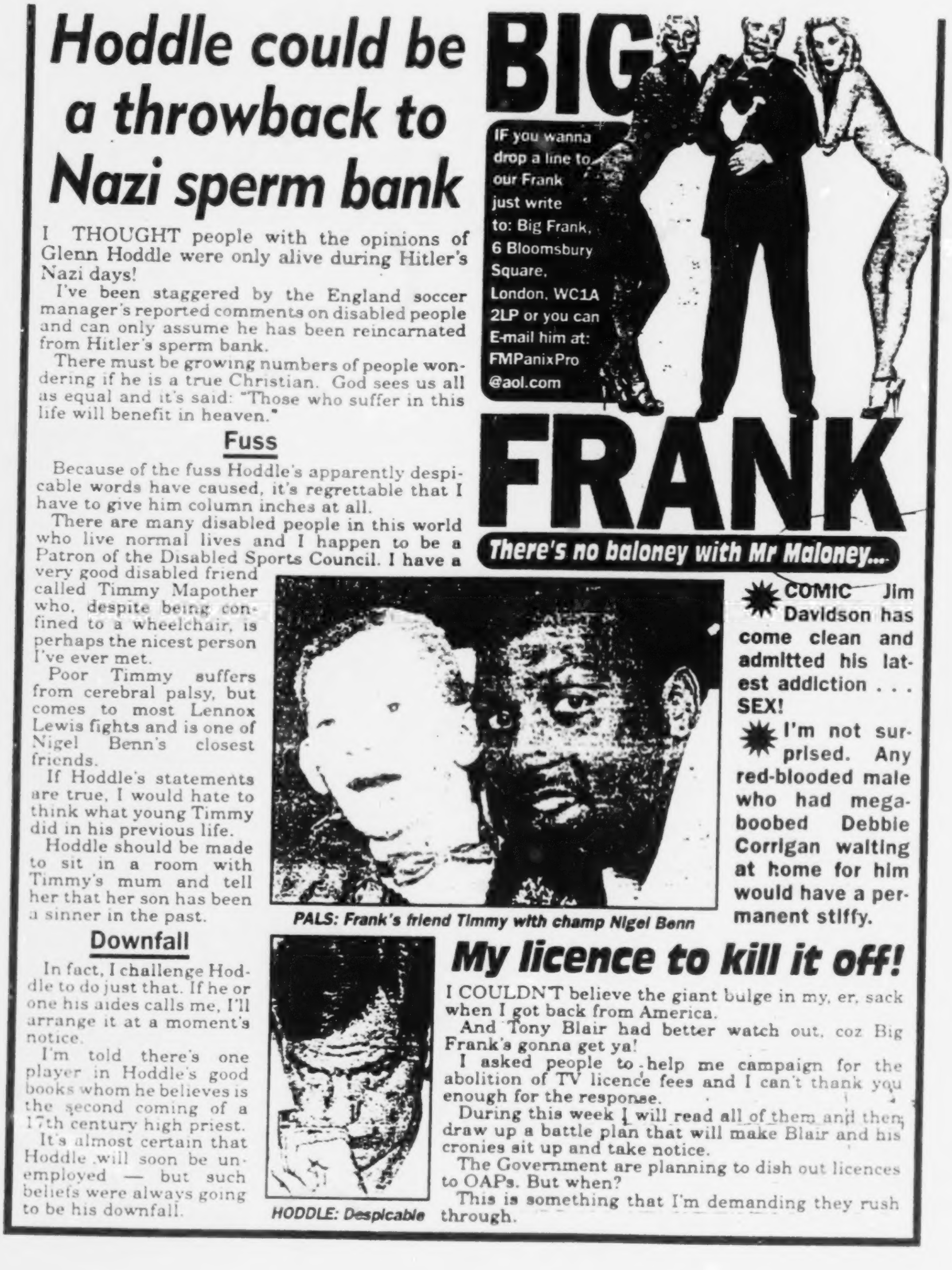

BIG FRANK

IF you wanna drop a line to our Frank just write to: Big Frank, 6 Bloomsbury Square, London, WC1A 2LP or you can E-mail him at: FMPanixPro@aol.com

There's no baloney with Mr Maloney...

Hoddle could be a throwback to Nazi sperm bank

I THOUGHT people with the opinions of Glenn Hoddle were only alive during Hitler's Nazi days!

I've been staggered by the England soccer manager's reported comments on disabled people and can only assume he has been reincarnated from Hitler's sperm bank.

There must be growing numbers of people wondering if he is a true Christian. God sees us all as equal and it's said: "Those who suffer in this life will benefit in heaven."

Fuss

Because of the fuss Hoddle's apparently despicable words have caused, it's regrettable that I have to give him column inches at all.

There are many disabled people in this world who live normal lives and I happen to be a Patron of the Disabled Sports Council. I have a very good disabled friend called Timmy Mapother who, despite being confined to a wheelchair, is perhaps the nicest person I've ever met.

Poor Timmy suffers from cerebral palsy, but comes to most Lennox Lewis fights and is one of Nigel Benn's closest friends.

If Hoddle's statements are true, I would hate to think what young Timmy did in his previous life.

Hoddle should be made to sit in a room with Timmy's mum and tell her that her son has been a sinner in the past.

Downfall

In fact, I challenge Hoddle to do just that. If he or one his aides calls me, I'll arrange it at a moment's notice.

I'm told there's one player in Hoddle's good books whom he believes is the second coming of a 17th century high priest.

It's almost certain that Hoddle will soon be unemployed — but such beliefs were always going to be his downfall.

PALS: Frank's friend Timmy with champ Nigel Benn

✸ COMIC Jim Davidson has come clean and admitted his latest addiction . . . SEX!

✸ I'm not surprised. Any red-blooded male who had mega-boobed Debbie Corrigan waiting at home for him would have a permanent stiffy.

HODDLE: Despicable

My licence to kill it off!

I COULDN'T believe the giant bulge in my, er, sack when I got back from America.

And Tony Blair had better watch out, coz Big Frank's gonna get ya!

I asked people to help me campaign for the abolition of TV licence fees and I can't thank you enough for the response.

During this week I will read all of them and then draw up a battle plan that will make Blair and his cronies sit up and take notice.

The Government are planning to dish out licences to OAPs. But when?

This is something that I'm demanding they rush through.

Figure 3.

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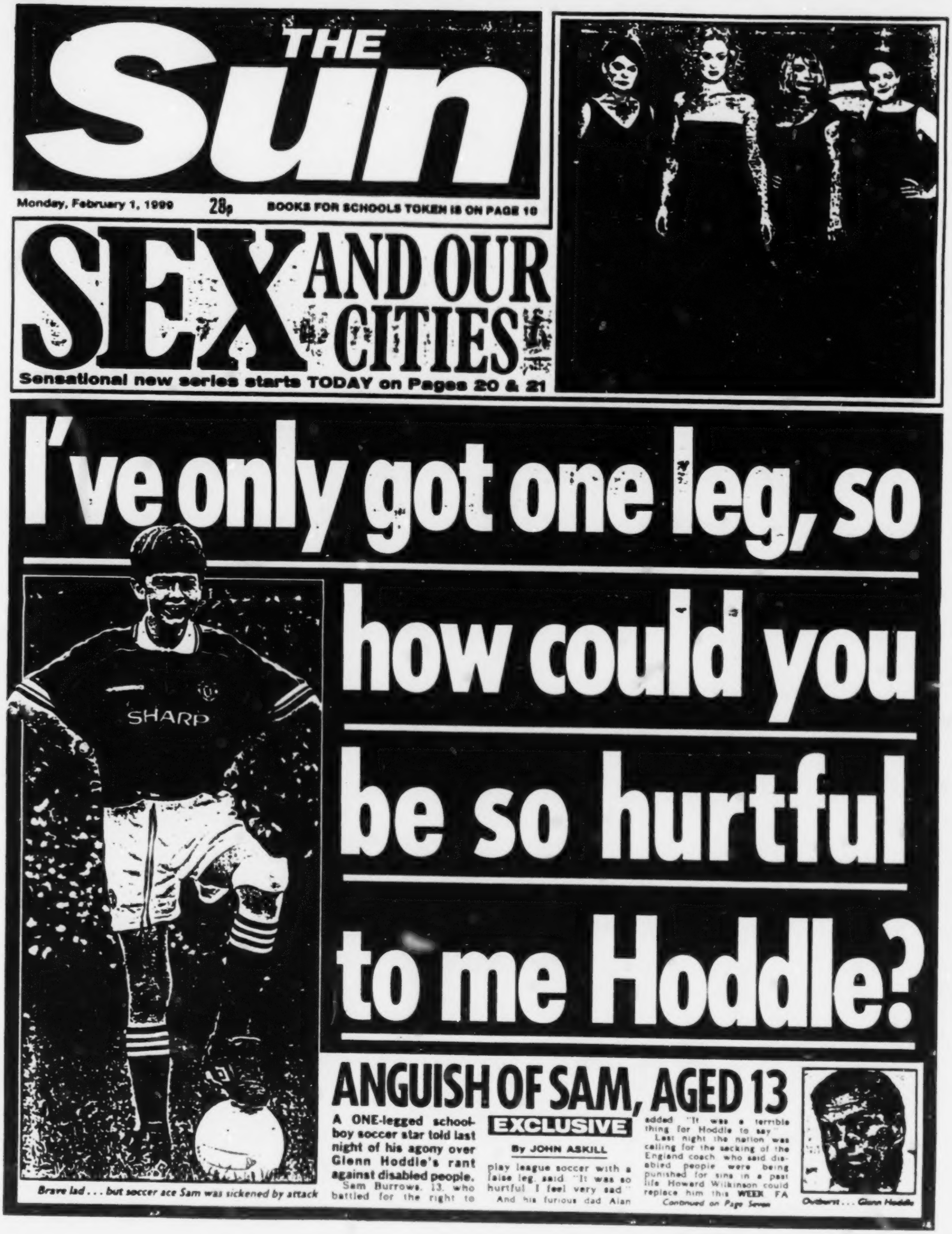

THE Sun

Monday, February 1, 1999 28p BOOKS FOR SCHOOLS TOKEN IS ON PAGE 10

SEX AND OUR CITIES

Sensational new series starts TODAY on Pages 20 & 21

I've only got one leg, so how could you be so hurtful to me Hoddle?

Brave lad . . . but soccer ace Sam was sickened by attack

ANGUISH OF SAM, AGED 13

EXCLUSIVE

By JOHN ASKILL

A ONE-legged schoolboy soccer star told last night of his agony over Glenn Hoddle's rant against disabled people.

Sam Burrows, 13, who battled for the right to play league soccer with a false leg, said: "It was so hurtful. I feel very sad."

And his furious dad Alan added: "It was a terrible thing for Hoddle to say."

Last night the nation was calling for the sacking of the England coach, who said disabled people were being punished for sins in a past life. Howard Wilkinson could replace him this WEEK. FA

Continued on Page Seven

Outburst . . . Glenn Hoddle

Figure 4.

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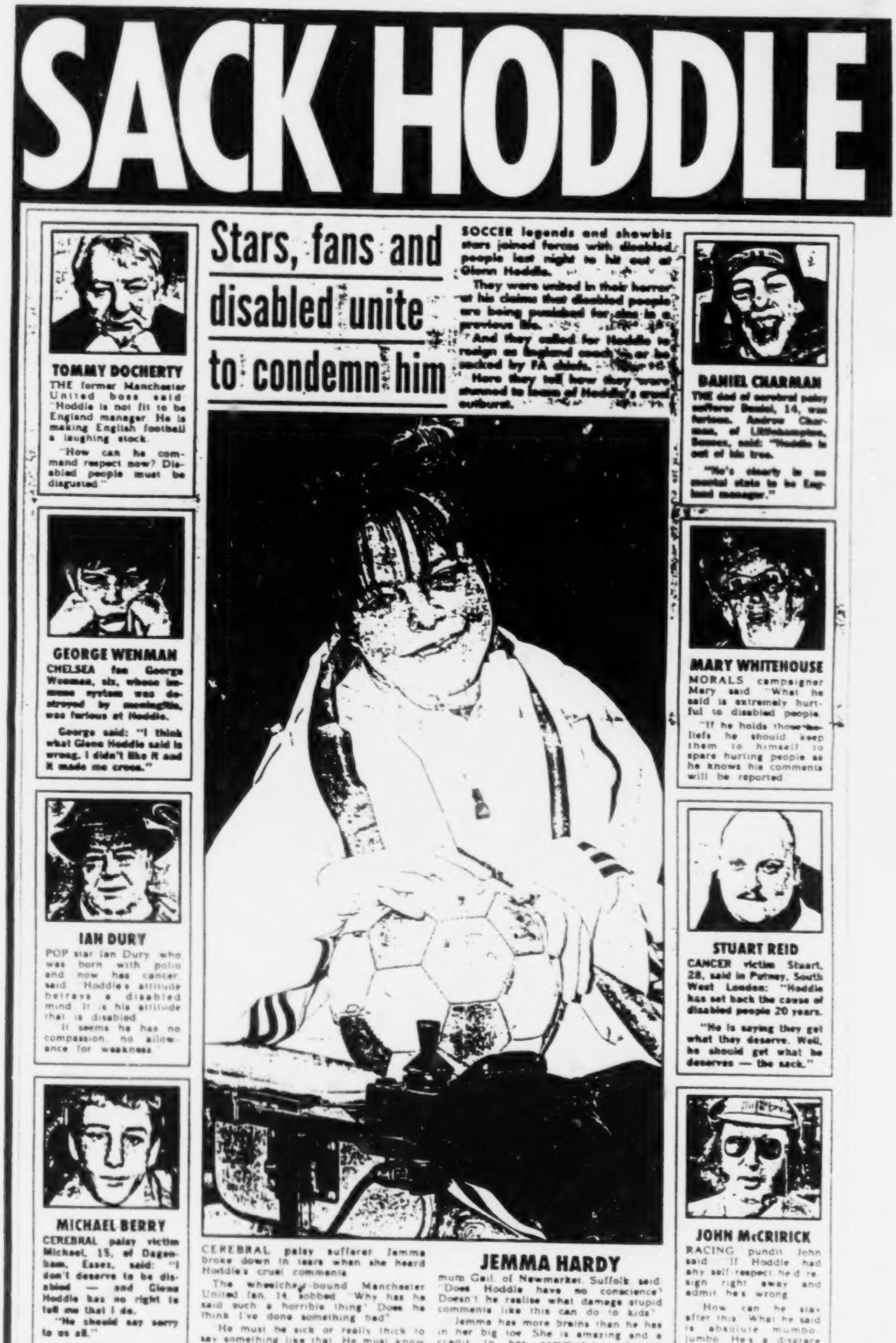

SACK HODDLE

Stars, fans and disabled unite to condemn him

SOCCER legends and showbiz stars joined forces with disabled people last night to hit out at Glenn Hoddle.

They were united in their horror at his claims that disabled people are being punished for sins in a previous life.

And they called for Hoddle to resign as England coach or be sacked by FA chiefs.

Here they tell how they were stunned to learn of Hoddle's cruel outburst.

TOMMY DOCHERTY

THE former Manchester United boss said: "Hoddle is not fit to be England manager. He is making English football a laughing stock.

"How can he command respect now? Disabled people must be disgusted."

DANIEL CHARMAN

THE dad of cerebral palsy sufferer Daniel, 14, was furious. Andrew Charman, of Littlehampton, Sussex, said: "Hoddle is out of his tree.

"He's clearly in no mental state to be England manager."

GEORGE WENMAN

CHELSEA fan George Wenman, six, whose immune system was destroyed by meningitis, was furious at Hoddle.

George said: "I think what Glenn Hoddle said is wrong. I didn't like it and it made me cross."

MARY WHITEHOUSE

MORALS campaigner Mary said: "What he said is extremely hurtful to disabled people.

"If he holds those beliefs he should keep them to himself to spare hurting people as he knows his comments will be reported."

IAN DURY

POP star Ian Dury, who was born with polio and now has cancer, said: "Hoddle's attitude betrays a disabled mind. It is his attitude that is disabled.

"It seems he has no compassion, no allowance for weakness."

STUART REID

CANCER victim Stuart, 28, said in Putney, South West London: "Hoddle has set back the cause of disabled people 20 years.

"He is saying they get what they deserve. Well, he should get what he deserves — the sack."

MICHAEL BERRY

CEREBRAL palsy victim Michael, 15, of Dagenham, Essex, said: "I don't deserve to be disabled — and Glenn Hoddle has no right to tell me that I do.

"He should say sorry to us all."

JEMMA HARDY

CEREBRAL palsy sufferer Jemma broke down in tears when she heard Hoddle's cruel comments.

The wheelchair-bound Manchester United fan, 14, sobbed: "Why has he said such a horrible thing? Does he think I've done something bad?

"He must be sick or really thick to say something like that. He must know it would really upset people." Furious mum Gail, of Newmarket, Suffolk, said: "Does Hoddle have no conscience? Doesn't he realise what damage stupid comments like this can do to kids?

"Jemma has more brains than he has in her big toe. She is amazing and a credit to her community — whereas Hoddle's a discredit to his country."

JOHN McCRIRICK

RACING pundit John said: "If Hoddle had any self-respect he'd resign right away and admit he's wrong.

"How can he stay after this? What he said is absolute mumbo-jumbo. He's a disgrace to his country."

WILKO FOR HOD JOB

Figure 5.

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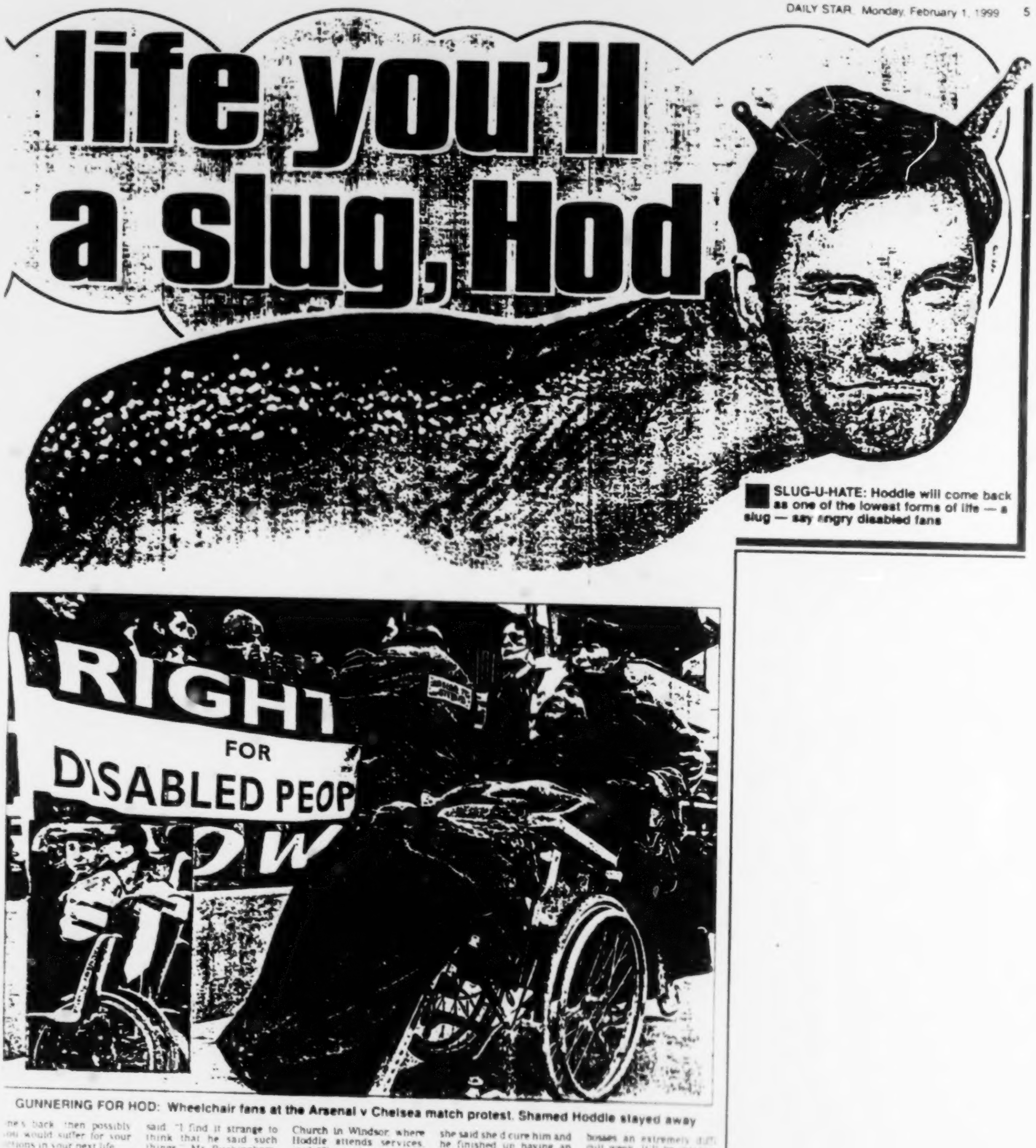
RIGHT
FOR
DISABLED PEOP
OW

DAILY STAR, Monday, February 1, 1999 5

life you'll
a slug, Hod

SLUG-U-HATE: Hoddle will come back as one of the lowest forms of life — a slug — say angry disabled fans

GUNNERING FOR HOD: Wheelchair fans at the Arsenal v Chelsea match protest. Shamed Hoddle stayed away

ne's back, then possibly ou would suffer for your ctions in your next life.

"Reincarnation is a elief I hold and it may e something that is mportant to Glenn."

But as the storm over for ner Spurs midfielder oddle's comments grew ven his pals began to ound on him.

Ex-pastor Barry Bucking am, 65, a family friend, said: "I find it strange to think that he said such things." Mr Buckingham, who recently retired from Ascot Baptist Church in Berks, now works as a gardener for Hoddle's ex-wife Anne.

He said: "I have not spoken to her about these things."

The Rev Derek Nuttall, the minister at Christ Church United Reformed Church in Windsor, where Hoddle attends services, said: "I've nothing to say."

But Chelsea chairman Ken Bates yesterday blasted Hoddle, a former manager at Stamford Bridge.

He said: "I didn't know he had these wacky ideas, although we did see Mrs Eileen Drewery.

"Dennis Wise said he was persuaded to see her and she said she'd cure him and he finished up having an operation and 17 stitches.

"The silly woman said she ensured Ince hit the post in Italy to avoid trouble on the terraces.

"Well, why didn't she ensure that somebody put the ball in the net in Sweden instead of hitting the post and helping with qualifying for Euro 2000?

"Hoddle has given his bosses an extremely difficult week. It'll be interesting to see if somebody is decisive about this."

Spina bifida sufferer Anthony Jay, 21, of St John's Wood, London, has been in a wheelchair all his life.

The Gunners fan said: "Glenn Hoddle shouldn't be given the opportunity to resign. He should face the humiliation of being sacked."

Figure 6.

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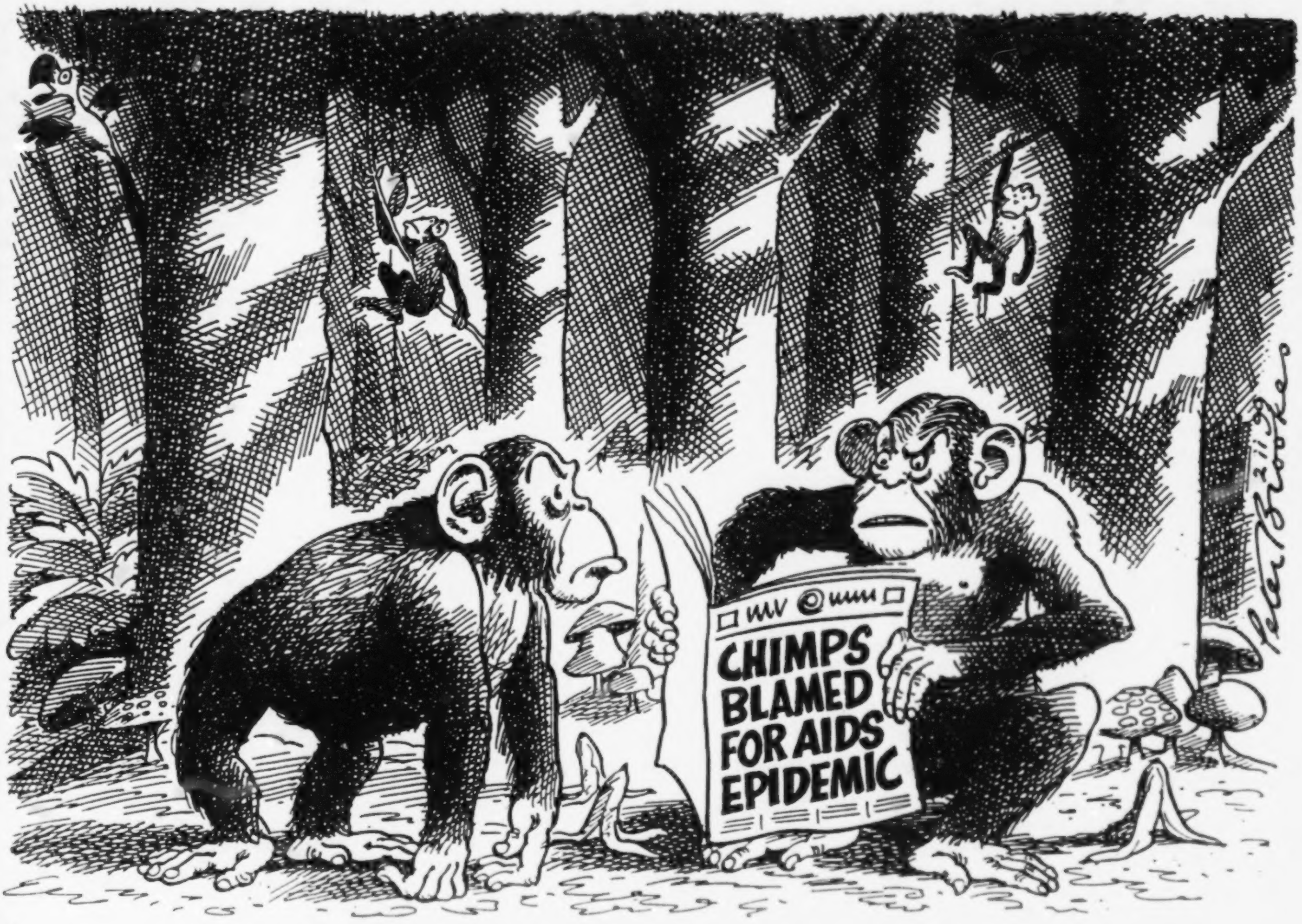
4M THE TIMES


CHIMPS BLAMED FOR AIDS EPIDEMIC
Peter Brookes

"...WHICH PROBABLY MEANS WE'LL COME BACK AS GLENN HODDLE!"

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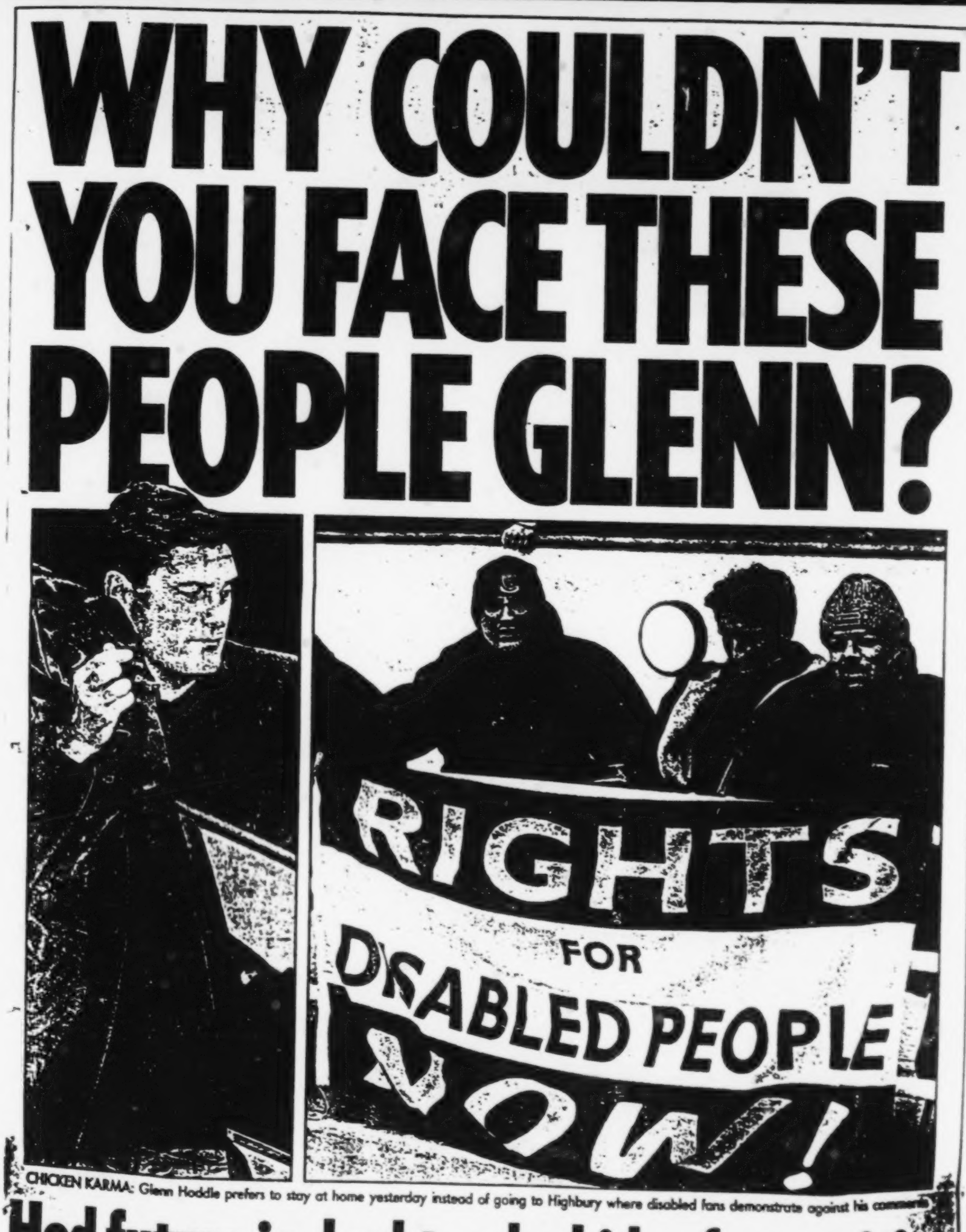
Figure 7.


RIGHTS
FOR
DISABLED PEOPLE
NOW!

WHY COULDN'T YOU FACE THESE PEOPLE GLENN?

CHICKEN KARMA: Glenn Hoddle prefers to stay at home yesterday instead of going to Highbury where disabled fans demonstrate against his comments

Hod future in doubt as he hides from critics

Figure 8.

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Mythic Battles:

Examining the Lawyer-Public Relations Counselor Dynamic

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Mythic Battles:
Examing the Lawyer-Public Relations Counselor Dynamic

Abstract

Long considered adversarial, relationships between public relations practitioners and lawyers were analyzed via Q methodology and depth interviews. Subjective attitudes were measured regarding strategies in dealing with publics in times of organizational crisis and how the subjects viewed their professional counterparts. Analysis employed concepts central to coorientation theory.

Lawyers more accurately projected the PR response than vice versa. Relationships seem to be all-important. And, the proverbial law/PR conflict may have taken on nearly mythic proportions.

Introduction

The relationship between public relations practitioners and lawyers has historically been troublesome. In 1956, Blaustein and Gross said public relations practitioners saw lawyers as a deterrent to their work. They found PR people agreed with statements like: "Lawyers don't understand the importance of public attitudes" and "Lawyers are too rigid" (pp. 8-9). In 1969, Morton Simon dubbed legal and public relations professionals "the oil and water team" (p. 7). More than thirty years later, many believe this rift between the professions remains.

Lawyers argue that PR people don't understand the vagaries of the law; responses in a survey of public relations practitioners validates that concern (Fitzpatrick, 1996). Lawyers have given evidence that they don't understand the basics of public relations practice, too (Stein, 1993, p. 9). Some believe that because anything that is written or spoken can be used against their client in court, there should be as little external communication as possible.

This documented division can be reinforced anecdotally. Conversations with top public relations counselors around the country brought forth comments like, "As we were going through this situation you had CEOs being hassled by their PR people and their legal counsel on how to deal with the press" and "When legal gets involved the game changes completely" (Cameron, Cropp & Reber, 1999). These interviews have illuminated a portion of the problem – one group sees the other as inept or ill-intentioned. But, another interviewee saw the legal team as something more like the cavalry riding to the rescue. The truth is likely somewhere in between.

In a society where litigation is always a threat that can damage an organization's reputation as well as its bottom line, it is of utmost importance that public relations professionals and lawyers maintain a relationship that is based on mutual understanding, respect and trust. Expanding knowledge of the relationship between public relations and legal counsel as well as the way each faction operates, particularly in times of crisis, will undoubtedly lead to improved effectiveness of public relations

Statement of Problem

The need for a broader understanding between legal and public relations counselors is easily seen in a concept that is so commonly acknowledged that it has become cliché – "you can win in the court of law but lose in the court of public opinion." Cross-cultural communication scholar William B. Gudykunst (1987) argues that in order to understand another, we must be able to "describe, predict, or explain" incoming communication stimuli, "including others' behavior". This predictive function is impeded when communication itself is lacking (p. 850).

There is evidence that the relationship between legal and public relations personnel deteriorates in time of crisis, just when the client/organization most needs a unified team (David, 1998). The Institute for Crisis Management defines a crisis as "a significant business disruption which stimulates extensive news media coverage. The resulting public scrutiny will affect the organization's normal operations and also could have a political, legal, financial and governmental impact on its business" (About the Institute for Crisis Management, http://www.crisisexperts.com/abouticm.html). The definition alludes to the importance of both public relations (extensive media coverage and public scrutiny) and legal counsel (legal impact) in times of crisis, yet research shows that relationships that are difficult under normal circumstances are even more trying in times of crisis (David, 1998).

Fearn-Banks (1996) defines a crisis as "a major occurrence with a potentially negative outcome affecting an organization, company, or industry, as well as its publics, products, services or good name" (p. 1). She notes that a crisis can interrupt normal business and in extreme instances jeopardize the very existence of the organization.

David (1998) found that 37% of public affairs officers he surveyed said that conflict "rarely" or "never" exists between themselves and judge advocates (military lawyers). But about two-thirds (63%) acknowledged there was "sometimes," "usually" or "always" conflict between the groups. Thirty-nine percent of judge advocates said that conflict "rarely" or "never" exists between themselves and public affairs officers. Again, about two-thirds (61%) of judge advocates said there was "sometimes," "usually" or "always" conflict between the groups. Forty-seven percent of public affairs officers and 63% of judge advocates said there was more conflict during a crisis. David found that the majority of respondents in his survey – which included commanders (the equivalent to CEOs) – said that following a conflict between legal and public affairs functions, the Air Force usually achieves its legal goals, but loses public support.

Fitzpatrick (1996) surveyed 376 public relations practitioners about their relationships with legal counsel. About 85% of respondents said their relationship with lawyers was either excellent or good. Those who regularly work with an attorney cited far better relationships with legal than those who infrequently work with lawyers. One might deduce that those infrequent bouts occur in times of crisis and are therefore less amicable than routine interactions would be.

Fitzpatrick and Rubin (1995), in a content analysis of news coverage of sexual harassment cases, found evidence that "organizations [need] to reconcile the often contradictory counsel of public relations and legal professionals and take a more collaborative approach to crisis communication"(p. 21).

They noted that these two groups of professionals have standard strategies for dealing with crisis communication that are very different. They suggest the traditional legal strategy is to say nothing or as little as possible (as quietly as possible) citing the legal sensitivity, private nature or company policy of the event in question. The legal strategy also argues for denial of guilt and shifting or, at worst, sharing blame with the plaintiff (Fitzpatrick & Rubin, p. 22).

The traditional public relations strategy, they suggest, is to be candid and state any appropriate company policy on the issue, announce that the allegations are being investigated, admit a problem if one truly exists and then quickly plan, announce and implement a remedy (Fitzpatrick & Rubin, p. 22).

In the content analysis of 39 cases dealing with sexual harassment litigation and the press coverage, Fitzpatrick and Rubin found that a legal strategy was applied in 24 of the cases, a PR strategy was employed in seven cases and a mixture of the two was applied in eight cases. This led them to conclude that legal strategy dominates organizational decision-making, at least as it relates to sexual harassment.

Lee, Jares and Heath (1999) found that though legal encroachment of public relations does occur, the two professions have cooperative relationships. They found that organizations in which encroachment was most likely to occur did not employ "excellence" in public relations.

As corporate entities find themselves increasingly in a fish bowl, particularly when it comes to disputes, it seems that membership of public relations in the dominant coalition would take on a new level of importance. Understanding between these professions, especially in times of crisis, is imperative because, as one author said: "[time] shouldn't be wasted in bickering between lawyers and public relations people" (Birch, 1994, p. 33). Birch urges corporate managers to involve both legal and public relations counsel early in a crisis to educate the lawyers that a bunker mentality will not be useful to reputation preservation and to educate public relations personnel of the litigation liability.

Recent studies have shown that "[w]hen told a large company is accused of wrongdoing in a lawsuit, more than one-third of the population believe that company is probably guilty. And 58% of the public believe that a large company is guilty when its spokesperson responds 'no comment' to charges of wrongdoing" (DeMartino 1997, para. 6).

While the aforementioned studies provide insight into the importance of the relationship between public relations practitioners and lawyers (David, 1998; Lee et al., 1999), PR practitioners' attitudes toward lawyers (Fitzpatrick, 1996) and dominant methodologies in crisis decision making (Fitzpatrick & Rubin, 1995), none digs into the depths of subjective attitudes or employs coorientational analysis between the professions.

Applying a coorientation approach

The coorientational model of communication assumes "that each person in a coorienting pair has two distinguishable sets of cognitions: he knows what he thinks, and he has some estimate of what the other person thinks" (Chaffee & McLeod, 1968, p. 662). The coorientation model has been widely used to compare perspectives in an effort to bring groups of people into better understanding of one another. Its roots reach back to Heider (1958), Newcomb (1953, 1961) and Laing (1966, 1967, 1969).

Newcomb wrote about co-orientation or "simultaneous orientation" in an article in 1953. He described his A-B-X model in simplest form as "one person (A) transmits information to another person (B) about something (X)" (p. 393). The contribution to coorientation is that he described A's attitudes toward B and X as being interdependent, thereby making A-B-X a communicating system.

In 1968, Chaffee and McLeod acknowledged the importance of Newcomb's A-B-X paradigm, but noted that little empirical study of pairs of persons had been done. Although originally used to study pairs of individuals, in the last 30-plus years coorientation has been successfully applied to groups of people (Ekachai 1991; Kopenhaver, Martinson & Ryan 1984; Sallot, Cameron, & Weaver Lariscy 1998; Sallot, Steinfatt & Salwen 1998; Stegall & Sanders 1986).

Central to the coorientation model, and to this study, are the concepts of Accuracy, Agreement and Congruency. Accuracy occurs when one person's perception of the other person's assessments approximate the other's *true* assessments. Agreement refers to when one person's assessments *resemble* another person's. Congruency occurs when one person *believes* the other person's opinions are akin to his own (Chaffee & McLeod, 1968, p. 662). The relationship between public relations and legal counsel in organizations can be better understood by applying these three dimensions. Such understanding will improve both teaching and practice in public relations.

In summary, because organizational crises are on the increase and research shows that when legal and public relations counsel become adversarial the organization comes out the loser, it is apropos to study what goes right and wrong in these relationships. These relationships will be analyzed by employing concepts central to coorientation theory.

Research Methodology and Design

Research Questions

There are numerous articles about the importance of public relations and legal advisors cooperating in organizational and crisis settings (Birch, 1994; Cooper, 1992; David, 1998; DeMartino, 1997; Fitzpatrick, 1993/94, 1995; Fitzpatrick & Rubin, 1995; Gibson, 1998; Lee et al., 1999; Levick, 1997; Lukaszewski, 1995, 1997; Lynn, 1997; Magid, 1995; Martinelli & Briggs, 1998; McCann, 1994, Roschwalb & Stack, 1992; "Turning..." 1989). Additionally, there are studies that look at how public relations counsel view legal counsel (Fitzpatrick, 1996; Guth, 1996; Plumley & Wilson, 1993), but there is remarkably little that looks at both perspectives in depth. Therefore, the research questions are necessarily broad in an effort to build a foundation in this area of study.

The first three research questions provide insight into how public relations and legal professionals view themselves and their colleagues in the other profession. These questions allow some conclusions to be drawn based on common understanding between the professions as well as serve a heuristic function.

R1: How do public relations professionals view legal professionals?

R2: How do legal professionals view public relations professionals?

The coorientation of the professions is addressed in the third research question:

R3: Do the self-reports of each group square with the views held by the other group?

The fourth research question moves from being foundational in nature to providing a basic framework of how these groups can work more effectively together.

R4: How do these views affect the working relationship when legal and public relations counsel combine to attempt strategic conflict management?

Research Methodology

Q-sorts (McKeown & Thomas, 1988; Sanders, 1990; Stephenson, 1953, 1968, 1994) followed by depth interviews (Lindlof, 1995) were the primary methodologies for this work.

The engaging Q process leads naturally into the depth interview that follows. The interview provides the researcher with the opportunity not only to identify choices made by the sorter, but to dig deeper in an effort to understand the nature of those choices. It allows the researcher to detect what determines the importance of one choice over another. It further provides the researcher a deeper understanding in the *verstehen* tradition. "When we ask a person to represent his attitude of mind as a Q-sort, genuine understandings are at issue, measured for the first time in social science" (Stephenson 1967, p. 191).

Q methodology requires the respondent to define his or her own subjectivity via a series of self-referential opinion statements on sort cards. The goal is to unmask deeply held opinions in such a manner that people who respond to the sort in specific ways can begin to be grouped into factors or types and defined according to similarities and differences in the attitudes, motives and wants they report. The method allows the researcher to objectively compare and contrast distinctive ways of thinking (Brown 1993, p. 120). Q methodology is therefore an excellent exploratory tool and can effectively be used to build hypotheses.

The value of this method for this particular research project is to measure subjective responses of public relations and legal counsel regarding themselves and then regarding members of the other profession. "The purpose of conducting a Q-study is to gain insight into an individual's point of view on any matter of social importance...and to give these opinions structure and form" (Cropp 1996, p. 60).

The depth interview, following the Q-sort, provides an opportunity to analyze responses to the sort as well as to identify the source of attitudes and extract useful anecdotal information. Singer (1996) found that these methods complemented each other well, as person factors that were identified in the Q-sort were reinforced anecdotally in the series of interviews she conducted.

In sum, the methodologies of Q-sorts and depth interviews will endeavor to provide initial understanding into the subjective beliefs lawyers and public relations counselors have about each other.

Research Design

The population for this study was public relations and legal counsel. A "snowball sample" was based on professional relationships and drawn from the memberships of the Public Relations Society of America (PRSA) and the American Corporate Counsel Association (ACCA).

The final sample consisted of 16 public relations practitioners and 14 lawyers, made up of professional contacts, and PRSA and ACCA members. More than 350 electronic mail communiques and

110 phone calls were exchanged in recruiting and interviewing the final sample. Participation of corporate counsel also was invited on the ACCA website (http://www.acca.org).

Q methodology requires a smaller number of respondents than do other social scientific research methods. While such a sample size is considered small by quantitative social science methods, it provides sufficient numbers for factorial analysis in Q (Brown, 1993). Furthermore, as noted above, the goal in Q methodology is to develop a deeper understanding – *verstehen* – of individuals and to determine how groups of individual insights may group together. Aspects of both qualitative and quantitative research are paired in Q methodology as a means to gain insight and serve a heuristic function. The generalizability of Q sorts and psychometric data generally has been affirmed by previous researchers (Thomas & Baas, 1992/93; Lesser & Hughes, 1986).

Respondents were asked to sort 34 statements, either on-line or from paper cards. The statements were arranged on a continuum from most agree to most disagree. An original universe of 212 statements, gleaned from literature as well as from interviews with professionals, was winnowed down to a sample of 34 (see Appendix for Q statements). Participants were asked to first sort the statements from their own professional perspective and then to re-sort them from what they believe would be the perspective of the other profession, i.e. lawyers did the second sort trying to predict the choices of public relations practitioners. Following the completion of this sorting, participants were asked to elaborate on their experiences in dealing with their professional counterparts.

The Q sort materials were delivered either via Q-Assessor[1], an on-line sorting system developed for this study, or through traditional paper means by mail. Prior to implementation, Q-Assesor was tested in a validity study comparing the online system of sorting to conventional paper means (Reber and Kaufman, 1999).

Data analysis in Q methodology typically consists of the sequential application of correlation, factor analysis and computation of factor scores (McKeown and Thomas, p. 45). Data was tabulated and factor analyzed using PQMethod[2], software developed specifically for analyzing Q data and providing arrays for analysis.

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[1] Stanley E. Kaufman, M.D., Epimetrics Consulting Group, San Francisco, designed and administered Q-Assessor for this study.

Research Findings

The goal of this research, and Q sorts generally, is to tease out subjective perspectives of public relations practitioners and legal counsel in regards to organizational crises. While the findings in this research are largely qualitative, they provide several insights into the relationships of public relations practitioners and legal counsel as well as what each views as appropriate action and relationships during difficult times.

Factor analyses were run on four data sets. The data sets each yielded two factors or "types" (see Table 1). These representations of the subjective opinions of naturally occurring groups offer direction for further research and an elegant, memorable way for students and practitioners to think about counselors from each profession that might be encountered in the world of work.

TABLE 1 Factor Names in Each Category

Public Relations		**Lawyers**	
Self Report	*Perception of Lawyers*	*Self-Report*	*Perception of PR counsel*
Caring Collaborator	Involved Suppressor	Cooperative Colleague	Suspicious Meddler
Legal Eagle	Quiet Associate	Confrontational Counselor	Conscientious Communicator

Public Relations Practitioners

When public relations practitioners sorted the 34 statements from their own professional perspectives, two types emerged – eight practitioners in each type.

The Caring Collaborator and Legal Eagle have near consensus on several statements (See Table 2). This indicates that these types are highly correlated – in other words, members of the profession do think in a similar manner.

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[2] The PQMethod.exe is a MS-DOS program that was adapted, revised and is maintained by Peter Schmolck <p41bsmk@unibw-muenchen.de>. The Fortran code on which it is based was originally written by John Atkinson at Kansas State University for the mainframe.

TABLE 2 Consensus items between Public Relations practitioners

Most Agree	Most Disagree
17 ***Involve the PR specialist early*** Caring Collaborator, z = 1.657 Legal Eagle, z = 1.476	31 ***Say as little as possible as quietly as possible.*** Caring Collaborator, z = -1.335 Legal Eagle, z = -1.482
27 ***A client is best served if counsel work in concert*** Caring Collaborator, z = 1.643 Legal Eagle, z = 1.919	14 ***When embroiled in actual litigation, PR should have little input.*** Caring Collaborator, z = -1.255 Legal Eagle, z = -1.164
7 ***Assess image as well as legal liability*** Caring Collaborator, z = 1.632 Legal Eagle, z = 1.263	8 ***Legal risk is greater than the need for PR.*** Caring Collaborator, z = -1.229 Legal Eagle, z = -.890
30 ***Voluntarily admit problems, then announce and implement corrections*** Caring Collaborator, z = 1.407 Legal Eagle, z = .895	4 ***Conduct all-out warfare against critics.*** Caring Collaborator, z = -1.183 Legal Eagle, z = -1.690
19 ***PR professional must become educated about legal issues*** Caring Collaborator, z = 1.298 Legal Eagle, z = 1.131	13 ***PR has no place in legal arena.*** Caring Collaborator, z = -1.019 Legal Eagle, z = -1.034
5 ***Acknowledge the concerns of the other side*** Caring Collaborator, z = 1.230 Legal Eagle, z = .912	
18 ***Poor crisis response stems from concern for legal issues without concern for relationships with publics*** Caring Collaborator, z = .878 Legal Eagle, z = 1.392	

Statements are paraphrased. For complete statements see the Appendix.

The Caring Collaborator

This factor is evenly distributed among men and women – four of each – and explains 35% of the variance. The average length of this PR professional's career is about 21 years (20.7).

This type thought a client is best served when legal and public relations counselors cooperate and that corporate image should be considered along with legal liability.

One Caring Collaborator wrote: "The PR people must be at the table immediately … [W]e instituted a 'situation management' process involving all stakeholders including PR, legal, marketing, … to identify issues before they became crises and to help stakeholders understand each others' roles and perspectives before you are in the crucible of a crisis."

Among the things that most set the Caring Collaborator apart (see Table 3) was his belief that *the best crisis strategy is to voluntarily admit a problem, then announce and quickly implement corrective measures* (z = 1.407). "Sooner or later, 'the truth will out,'" one Caring Collaborator said. "In handling a crisis, a company needs to know the truth, have details and facts and craft the best strategy to show a straightforward, honest manner in dealing with the crisis. If at fault, coordinate with legal, but show why it happened and what corrective steps will be taken."

Finally he feels more strongly than the Legal Eagle that relationships need to be maintained. He believes in *acknowledging the concerns of the other side in the conflict* (z = 1.230). "Acknowledging concerns is a key way to demonstrate a company's integrity - crucial for maintaining a solid reputation," wrote one.

The Caring Collaborator most strongly disagrees with the idea that when embroiled in a conflict you should *deny guilt* (z = -1.681) and *talk tough with accusers* (z = -1.450). One said: "Talking tough and conducting warfare against critics and accusers will do nothing but damage a company's reputation." This type does not believe that *any communication with any public can jeopardize a company's case* (z = -1.188).

Like the Legal Eagle he does not believe the best crisis strategy is to say little and release information quietly. "It just never works to say nothing, provided you are asked," said one Caring Collaborator. "[M]ost people will forgive a mistake if someone takes responsibility."

The Legal Eagle

The Legal Eagle factor includes five men and three women and accounts for 33% of the variance. The average number of years in public relations is about 14 (13.85) for the respondents in this factor.

This type believes that public relations and legal counsel should work together and that PR should be involved early.

"No one has a lock on wisdom, perspective and skills," said one Legal Eagle. "PR professionals need to be involved from the outset so that they are helping to craft a message and not just doing damage control."

The Legal Eagle strongly believes *a poor response to a crisis is often caused by excessive concern for legal issues and an absence of concern for relationships with publics* (z = 1.392). Additionally, this type believes *there is a growing need for lawyers and public relations practitioners to work together* (z = 1.266). "Both lawyers and PR professionals have important and meaningful considerations and viewpoints that should be discussed and weighed at the outset to achieve optimal outcomes – including 'settlements' that lessen the burden on the justice system and the financial burden of involved parties," said one.

Like the Caring Collaborator, the Legal Eagle strongly disagrees with all-out warfare against critics. She also believes that *quietly releasing as little information as possible* (z = -1.482) is a bad crisis strategy.

She is set apart (see Table 3) by her disagreement with a strategy of *revealing as little as possible* (z = -1.520). She also does not agree that *public relations practitioners do not understand legal counsel* (z = -1.225). "I strongly believe that many public relations professionals have a very good feel for, if not outright understanding of the elements of law which are involved in any particular case," a Legal Eagle said. She doesn't buy the idea that *any conflict that arises between the two professions is due to a lack of understanding of the other discipline* (z = -1.022). "I don't believe – generally speaking – that lawyers and PR people don't respect each other's function or that they don't understand what the other is out to achieve," one said.

Public relations practitioners answering from the perspective of Lawyers

To answer the first RQ (How do public relations professionals view legal professionals?) public relations practitioners were asked to do a second sort of the statements, projecting how they believe a lawyer would reply. Two factors or types of public relations practitioners emerged when they tried to don the guise of a lawyer. The public relations practitioners were roughly split between the two factors – nine in the first factor, seven in the second.

The Involved Suppressor and Quiet Associate agreed on several statements (see Table 4) – both those at the positive and the negative ends of the spectrum.

The Involved Suppressor

This type is made up of five men and four women and accounts for 34% of the variance. The average job tenure among this group is about 18 (18.33) years.

TABLE 3 Non-Consensus items between Public Relations practitioners

Caring Collaborator		*Legal Eagle*	
Most Agree	**Most Disagree**	**Most Agree**	**Most Disagree**
22. Conflict between legal and PR comes from not understanding the other's discipline. z = .874	32. Deny guilt. z = -1.681	23. There is a growing need for lawyers and PR to work together. z = 1.266	6. Reveal as little as possible. z = -1.520
	33. The best way to deal with accusers is to talk tough. z = -1.450		11. PR professionals don't understand legal counsel. z = -1.225
	34. Any communication with any public could hurt a legal case. z = -1.188		22. Conflict between legal and PR comes from not understanding the other's discipline. z = -1.022

Statements are paraphrased. For complete statements see the Appendix.

The Involved Suppressor felt strongly that lawyers would say that they should scrutinize all messages in the course of a crisis and that statements made can prove detrimental during legal proceedings. One wrote, "Lawyers, even those who understand the importance of public attitudes, want to control everything that's uttered."

The Involved Suppressor thinks that lawyers believe PR increases the risk of legal liability by being too open. "After working with company and other lawyers over the years, it is my strong belief that they feel PR is a 'high risk' factor that often interferes with their legal strategy," said one. His estimation of a lawyerly response (see Table 5) in time of crisis is to *say as little as possible and release it as quietly as possible* (z = 1.125). This type also thinks lawyers *don't want PR input when an organization is involved in litigation* (z = 1.054). Finally, the Involved Suppressor suspects that a lawyer would strongly agree with *revealing as little as possible* (z = 1.001).

The Involved Suppressor believes lawyers would strongly disagree that voluntarily admitting a problem, announcing and quickly implementing corrective measures is a good crisis strategy. "It is always important to look at implications of disclosure," said one participant. "While voluntarily admitting may make a company feel good, it is opening itself for potentially even larger problems." This type of PR professional suggests lawyers would think "no comment" is an appropriate response.

TABLE 4 Consensus items of PR practitioners' perception of Lawyers

Most Agree	Most Disagree
10 ***Lawyers should examine all public statements*** Involved Suppressor, z = 1.867 Quiet Associate, z = 1.772	29 ***Open disclosure of misdeeds is usually appropriate*** Involved Suppressor, z = -1.721 Quiet Associate, z = -1.467
3 ***Statements can prove detrimental in a later legal case*** Involved Suppressor, z = 1.622 Quiet Associate, z = 1.536	30 ***Voluntarily admit problems, then announce and implement corrections.*** Involved Suppressor, z = -1.554 Quiet Associate, z = -1.036
1 ***Legal should be involved in determining message*** Involved Suppressor, z = 1.611 Quiet Associate, z = 1.832	15 ***Saying "no comment" is like saying "we're guilty"*** Involved Suppressor, z = -1.360 Quiet Associate, z = -1.263
8 ***Legal risk is greater than the need for PR*** Involved Suppressor, z = 1.409 Quiet Associate, z = .903	16 ***Talk publicly, early and often*** Involved Suppressor, z = -1.295 Quiet Associate, z = -1.184
9 ***PR exposes the company to legal risks by being too open*** Involved Suppressor, z = 1.269 Quiet Associate, z = .987	18 ***Poor response to a crisis often stems from concern for legal issues without concern for relationships with publics.*** Involved Suppressor, z = -1.231 Quiet Associate, z = -1.588
	12 ***Lawyers don't understand the importance of public attitudes*** Involved Suppressor, z = -.798 Quiet Associate, z = -1.842

Statements are paraphrased. For complete statements see the Appendix.

"Generally, lawyers believe the less said, the better," one Involved Suppressor noted. "That leaves them maximum wiggle room as the facts emerge into a case."

He also thinks that a lawyer *would not want to acknowledge the concerns of the other side* (z = -1.314).

"I think lawyers generally feel they do appreciate the 'court of public opinion,'" said one respondent. "It's just that, generally speaking, there's no financial 'penalty' associated with it."

The Quiet Associate

The Quiet Associate is a profile of four men and three women and explains 30% of the variance. The professionals in this factor have average job tenure of about 15 (15.40) years.

When trying to anticipate a lawyerly response to the statements, this type most strongly agrees that legal counsel should be involved in determining message.

The Quiet Associate (see Table 5) says lawyers agree *public relations professionals need to be educated about legal issues and procedures* (z = 1.437). This type also believes lawyers think any *public communication can jeopardize an organization's case* (z = 1.008).

The Quiet Associate most strongly disagrees that lawyers don't understand public attitudes. The Quiet Associate thinks a lawyer would strongly disagree with the idea that a poor crisis response rises from excessive concern for legal issues at the expense of relationships with publics. "Although lawyers can become myopic in their approach, they usually have a fairly keen sense of public attitudes and public opinion," one said. "Smart lawyers know that a case can be lost if the public becomes vocal and mobilized."

She also thinks that lawyers would reject visibly defending yourself by talking publicly.

The Quiet Associate believes lawyers disagree that they *encroach on PR ground in times of crisis* (z = -1.182). One participant noted, "It is precisely this early involvement of legal counsel and their intense scrutiny of even the smallest tactical maneuver in time of company crisis that makes the critical difference between responding effectively and shooting oneself in the foot."

Finally, the Quiet Associate believes a lawyerly response would be to disagree that *when legal and public relations counsel conflict, an organization achieves legal goals but loses public support* (z = -.934).

TABLE 5 Non-Consensus items in PR practitioners' perception of Lawyers

Involved Suppressor		***Quiet Associate***	
Most Agree	**Most Disagree**	**Most Agree**	**Most Disagree**
31 Say as little as possible as quietly as possible z = 1.125	5 Acknowledge the concerns of the other side z = -1.314	19 PR professionals must become educated about legal issues z = 1.437	2 Legal encroaches on PR during crises z = -1.182
14 When embroiled in actual litigation, PR should have little input z = 1.054	4 Conduct all-out warfare against critics z = -.747	34 Any communication with any public could hurt a legal case z = 1.008	28 After a conflict between legal and PR, the organization usually achieves its legal goals but loses public support z = -.934
6 Reveal as little as possible z = 1.001		24 PR and legal functions often offer competing approaches to problem-solving in a conflict z = .831	

Statements are paraphrased. For complete statements see the Appendix

Legal Counsel

Fourteen lawyers, representing a wide diversity of backgrounds, broke into two factors. Within the two types, five agreement statements in common percolate to the top. Likewise, the two factors share

TABLE 6 Consensus items of Lawyers

Most Agree	Most Disagree
27 ***A client is best served if counsel work in concert*** Cooperative Colleague, z = 1.961 Confrontational Counselor, z = 1.771	4 ***Conduct all-out warfare against critics*** Cooperative Colleague, z = -1.740 Confrontational Counselor, z = -1.549
17 ***Involve the PR specialist early*** Cooperative Colleague, z = 1.440 Confrontational Counselor, z = 1.369	34 ***Any communication with any public could hurt a legal case*** Cooperative Colleague, z = -1.516 Confrontational Counselor, z = -.922
19 ***PR professionals must become educated about legal issues*** Cooperative Colleague, z = 1.381 Confrontational Counselor, z = 1.274	13 ***PR has no place in the legal arena*** Cooperative Colleague, z = -1.496 Confrontational Counselor, z = -1.467
1 ***Legal should be involved in determining message*** Cooperative Colleague, z = 1.300 Confrontational Counselor, z = .910	
3 ***Statements can prove detrimental in a later legal case*** Cooperative Colleague, z = .972 Confrontational Counselor, z = 1.765	

Statements are paraphrased. For complete statements see the Appendix.

three disagreement statements in common at the bottom. Like the public relations practitioners, lawyers showed remarkable consensus on the extreme statements (see Table 6).

The Cooperative Colleague

This type consists of an equal distribution of men and women – four each – and accounts for 37% of the variance. The average number of years in their career is 19.71.

The Cooperative Colleague believes the public relations specialist should be involved early in the face of a crisis. "Because I am not a dentist, I don't do my own dentistry," one wrote. "I recognize that handling a crisis is an area of specialization. It involves a combination of media savvy, knowing what messages should be given to the public, to avert outrage. A legal crisis is a business risk, primarily, and a legal risk secondarily."

The Cooperative Colleague (see Table 7) believes *legal counsel should scrutinize all public messages* in the face of a crisis (z = 1.011). She thinks *corporate images as well as legal liability should be assessed* (z = 1.283) and that *concerns of the other side need to be acknowledged* (z = 1.001). "By acknowledging the concerns of the other side you can often avoid or minimize litigation," said one.

The Cooperative Colleague strongly disagrees with the strategy of conducting all-out warfare or *talking tough* (z = -1.392).

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This type disagrees that *public relations counsel should have little input when an organization is embroiled in actual litigation* (z = -1.388). In a similar vein, the Cooperative Colleague does not agree that in most cases the *legal risk outweighs the need for public communication* (z = -1.018). "PR and lawyers must work together, according to a fair role description," said a Cooperative Colleague. "And that means, lawyers should not simply muscle and muzzle, but counsel collaboratively, and helpfully." Finally, this type disagrees with the idea of *revealing as little as possible* (z = -967) and *revealing as little information as possible as quietly as possible* (z = -.885). One lawyer wrote, "If you say nothing, the public will assume the worst about a situation. Carefully crafted, accurate disclosure can do a tremendous amount of good for business."

The Confrontational Counselor

This type, made up of four men and one woman, accounts for 23% of variance. The average length of this lawyer's career is 17.20 years.

Like the Cooperative Colleague (see Table 6), the Confrontational Counselor most strongly agrees that a client is best served if communications and legal counsel work in concert. One wrote: "The need to work in concert is imperative where mistakes and misjudgments are spread instantly and magnified by media attention."

The Confrontational Counselor is much stronger than the Cooperative Colleague in his belief that statements made can prove detrimental in a later legal proceeding. "[This] relates to the rules of evidence and specifically admissions against interests," wrote one. "These rules require lawyers to counsel against admissions of culpability."

The primary difference between these two types appears in a few statements (see Table 7). The Confrontational Counselor strongly agrees that because *so many crises are created by lawsuits there is an increasing need for legal and PR counsel to work together* (z = 1.069). He also strongly believes you should *deny guilt* (z = 1.019). Finally, the Confrontational Counselor strongly agrees that *public relations and legal functions often offer competing and adversarial approaches to conflict problem solving* (z = 936). "In a legal crisis, counsel should drive decision-making with input from PR experts," another said.

A distinguishing quality of this type is his strong disagreement with the idea that *saying "no comment" is tantamount to saying "we're guilty"* (z = -1.751). "There is no need, from a legal perspective, to give plaintiff's counsel evidence in a lawsuit. 'No comment' is the safest from this legal perspective," said one Confrontational Counselor. Another wrote: "The short term pain experienced from a limited or non-disclosure of any facts is almost always better than an open approach, especially in the early stages of an ill-defined crisis. 'No comment' is clearly not an admission and, properly backed by reassuring statements of future disclosure, is best."

The Confrontational Counselor doesn't believe that public relations has no place in the legal arena or that *lawyers don't understand the importance of public attitudes* (z = -1.195). He strongly disagrees that *conflicts between the professions arise out of jealousy* (z = -1.045) or *a lack of respect* (z = -1.030). Finally, this type does not believe *that legal counsel encroaches on public relations in times of crisis* (z = -1.008).

TABLE 7 **Non-Consensus items between Lawyers**

Cooperative Colleague		*Confrontational Counselor*	
Most Agree	**Most Disagree**	**Most Agree**	**Most Disagree**
7 Assess corporate image as well as legal liability Z = 1.283	33 The best way to deal with accusers is to talk tough Z = -1.392	23 There is a growing need for lawyers and PR to work together Z = 1.069	15 Saying "no comment" is like saying "we're guilty" Z = -1.751
10 Lawyers should examine all public statements during a crisis Z = 1.011	14 When embroiled in litigation, PR should have little input Z = -1.388	32 Deny guilt Z = 1.019	12 Lawyers don't understand the importance of public attitudes Z = -1.195
5 Acknowledge the concerns of the other side Z = 1.001	8 Legal risk is greater than the need for PR Z = -1.018	24 PR and legal offer competing approaches to conflict problem solving Z = .936	20 Conflict between legal & PR arises out of jealousy Z = -1.045
	6 Reveal as little as possible Z = -.967		21 Conflict between legal and PR functions arise out of a lack of respect Z = -1.030
	31 Say as little as possible as quietly as possible Z = -.885		2 Legal encroaches on PR during crises Z = -1.008

Statements are paraphrased. For complete statements see the Appendix.

TABLE 8 Consensus items of Lawyers' perceptions of PR practitioners

Most Agree	Most Disagree
17 ***Involve the PR specialist early*** Suspicious Meddler, z = 1.645 Conscientious Communicator, z = 1.709	13 ***PR has no place in legal arena*** Suspicious Meddler, z = -1.813 Conscientious Communicator, z = -1.250
7 ***Assess image as well as legal liability*** Suspicious Meddler, z = 1.502 Conscientious Communicator, z = 1.086	14 ***When embroiled in litigation, PR should have little input*** Suspicious Meddler, z = -1.598 Conscientious Communicator, z = -1.325
27 ***A client is best served if counsel work in concert*** Suspicious Meddler, z = 1.357 Conscientious Communicator, z = 2.012	34 ***Any communication with any public could hurt a legal case*** Suspicious Meddler, z = -1.281 Conscientious Communicator, z = -2.012
23 ***There is a growing need for lawyers and PR to work together*** Suspicious Meddler, z = 1.101 Conscientious Communicator, z = .942	31 ***Say as little as possible as quietly as possible*** Suspicious Meddler, z = -1.029 Conscientious Communicator, z = -1.417
	6 ***Reveal as little as possible*** Suspicious Meddler, z = -.936 Conscientious Communicator, z = -1.022

Statements are paraphrased. For complete statements see the Appendix

Lawyers answering from the perspective of public relations practitioners

To address how legal professionals view public relations professionals, the lawyers in the study were asked to sort the statements a second time, trying to respond as they believe public relations practitioners would. A factor analysis of these responses yielded two types of lawyers. The two types were in consensus on their strong agreement with four statements (see Table 8). Likewise, they shared strong disagreement on five statements.

The Suspicious Meddler

This factor accounts for 49 percent of the explained variance and includes 11 of the 14 participant lawyers. These lawyers, on average, have been practicing 13.5 years.

This lawyer believes a public relations professional would most resound with the statement that PR should be involved early in the process. One wrote: "PR has to be considered a separate discipline with co-existing but separate concerns and means. Legal concerns cannot automatically pre-empt PR considerations if the company is to function in the commercial public arena, as opposed to the purely legal arena."

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She also thinks a public relations practitioner would strongly embrace the idea that *a company's poor crisis response is due to being overly concerned with legal issues and being unconcerned about relationships with publics* (z = 1.554) (see Table 9).

This lawyer thinks PR practitioners agree *that legal counsel encroaches on public relations ground in times of crisis* (z = 1.196) and that *lawyers don't understand the importance of public attitudes* (z = 1.131).

Finally, this legal type believes public relations counsel would agree there is a growing need for legal and PR counsel to cooperate.

The Suspicious Meddler believes public relations personnel would most strongly disagree with the idea that public relations has no place in the legal arena. "PR counsel has to be involved from the beginning," one lawyer said, "to temper and inform the sometimes short-sighted considerations of legal counsel."

This lawyer thinks PR counsel would strongly disagree that *the legal risk is greater than the need for public communications, in most cases* (z = -1.481). She also suggests strong disagreement with the statement that *public relations professionals expose an organization to legal liability by being too open* (z = -1.204). "While information must be intelligently released, well-timed and truthful statements can reduce the fever-pitch generated by crises and eliminate the need for legal involvement in the first place," one lawyer said.

The Suspicious Meddler thinks a public relations practitioner would disagree that *lawyers should scrutinize all public statements during a crisis* (z = -1.103).

The Conscientious Communicator

Only three lawyers, all men, loaded on this factor. But they had substantial experience, practicing an average of 32.33 years. This type accounts for 21% of variance.

The Conscientious Communicator concurs with the Suspicious Meddler that public relations practitioners would agree a client is best served if the two professions work together and early (see Table 8). Where this type differs from the previous one is in his belief that public relations personnel would agree that *voluntarily admitting a problem and announcing and quickly implementing corrections is the best way to deal with a crisis* (z = 1.628) (see Table 9). Another differentiation is his thinking that PR professionals would agree that *PR should be educated in legal issues and procedures* (z = 1.109).

The Conscientious Communicator thinks PR professionals would most strongly disagree with the idea that any communication with any public can damage an organization's legal case. Where this type most disagrees with the previous type is with the idea of *conducting all-out warfare against critics* (z = -1.189) and *talking tough with accusers* (z = -1.097). The Conscientious Communicator also disagrees with *visibly defending yourself by talking publicly, early and often* (z = -.954).

When a coorientation model is applied to the predictions versus self-report between the professional groups it becomes clear that lawyers show a high degree of understanding or accuracy of PR professionals' views. Public relations practitioners, however, do not show a similarly high degree of understanding or accuracy of the lawyers' views.

The fourth research question (How do these views affect the working relationship when legal and public relations counsel combine to attempt strategic conflict management?) will be addressed in the discussion section.

Discussion

Several themes that emerged from both the Q sorts and interviews will be discussed in this section. First, lawyers were more accurate in their projection of the PR response than public relations practitioners were in projecting a lawyerly response. Second, relationships seem to be all-important. Finally, the proverbial law/PR conflict may have taken on nearly mythic proportions that are not supported here.

Standardized z-scores of statement choices were used to make comparisons between types and in comparing the accuracy of projections between professions (See Appendix, Tables A and B, for comparisons between professions).

How well do you know me?

When asked to project themselves as the opposite profession, lawyers were remarkably good at predicting public relations practitioners' responses. Conversely, public relations professionals were unexpectedly poor at estimating lawyers' responses.

Lawyers were much more conciliatory and collaborative than public relations practitioners thought they were. In the in-depth interviews, one lawyer said, "The legal system doesn't function in isolation, so it can be affected by the kind of image, of publicity, that is created." Another noted that as a lawyer he should not be solely concerned with the best legal result, but with the best result for the client. It may be that corporate image is better served by an imperfect legal result, he said. Yet another said, "You have to be mindful that your client's interest include not only the legal concerns but include customer-related and public image-related concerns."

As Appendix Table A shows, lawyers correctly anticipated that public relations practitioners would agree that the *PR counselor should be brought in early* and that a *client is best served if legal and PR work together* (statements 17 and 27). Lawyers also correctly anticipated disagreement with the statement that *when in crisis it is best to say as little as possible as quietly as possible* (statement 31) and *that poor crisis responses arise from excessive concern for legal outcome at the expense of public relationships* (statement 18). Legal counselors noted that a public relations response would be *to admit problems and announce corrections to be implemented* (statement 30). They anticipated disagreement with the idea that *public relations counsel should have little input when litigation is a part of the picture* (statement 14).

Lawyers incorrectly believed that public relations practitioners would strongly agree that *legal counsel encroaches on PR during crises* (statement 2) and that they would strongly disagree that *lawyers should examine public statements made during crises* (statement 10). Lawyers did not anticipate the statement that the Caring Collaborator found most disagreeable – that you should *deny guilt* (statement 32). The lawyers' inability to anticipate that response from PR may come from the difference between the two professions' interpretation of that rather vague statement.

Public relations practitioners were remarkably inaccurate at estimating lawyerly responses to most of the statements (see Appendix Table B). Lawyers showed a collaborative bent in their sorts, choosing statement 27 – *A client is best served if legal and communications counsel work in concert* – as the statement with which they most agreed. Public relations, conversely, expected statements that signify encroachment to be most agreeable to lawyers – *A lawyer should scrutinize all public statements ... during a crisis* (statement 10) and *Legal counsel should be involved in determining message* (statement 1). These choices illustrate that public relations practitioners may believe that lawyers are more power grabbing than they, in fact, are. One lawyer cited experience where management would take public relations' side over legal when advice differed in times of crisis.

Especially telling is that some of the statements with which public relations practitioners believed lawyers would strongly agree were actually disagreeable to lawyers. The most notable among these statements were: *Legal risk is greater than the need for PR* (statement 8), *Say as little as possible as quietly as possible* (statement 31), *Reveal as little as possible* (statement 6), *Any communication could hurt a legal case* (statement 34), and *When in litigation PR should have little input* (statement 14).

Thus, it seems that lawyers have a pretty accurate view of public relations counselors, but the converse is not true. The importance of this is related to how the two groups work together during times of crisis. If public relations counselors assume that lawyers are going to usurp their turf, when lawyers may actually be quite open, desirous in fact, of PR input, a collaborative crisis-solving relationship is difficult at best.

"The PR people and the lawyers become allies because they're both dealing with external consequences," said one senior lawyer. "[PR people and lawyers are] the ones who have to control the others in the organization." He cited a case in which the public relations practitioner and the legal counsel had to convince management that it was not in its best interest to take a defiant stance in an affirmative action case. "Labor negotiations is a place where management frequently wants to fight to the bitter end and PR and lawyers often are the only ones to consider the other side." Such themes of collegial collaboration were frequently cited by members of both professions.

Relationships are all-important

Work together – Especially when facing a crisis

Both sort and interview responses indicate that a crisis is best handled by lawyers and public relations practitioners who have developed a positive working relationship prior to facing the emergency. This is evidenced by all four types of lawyers and public relations practitioners strongly agreeing *that a client is best served if the two professions work in concert* (statement 27). Further evidence is provided by the strong agreement by lawyers that *the public relations expert should be involved early in the managing of a crisis* (statement 17).

From the legal perspective

This factor analytic evidence is augmented by anecdotal interview data. "Prepare in advance of a crisis and involve the public relations specialist at that time," one lawyer said. "Know how to respond and what your role is in the crisis management. It's bad enough to have to cope with crisis, but if there's an in-house bush fire then it really becomes difficult. If PR and the legal department does not have a good relationship, then it is difficult."

Lawyers indicated an acknowledgement that public relations practitioners have specific "turf" as one lawyer termed it. They also noted that legal and PR departments are both working for the same client or organization and that the best legal outcome may not be the best result for the client. "Remember that the [legal] result you're trying to obtain for your client is only one facet," a lawyer said. "Balance the result you would like with other client interests."

"In our organization we try to work in concert," one general counsel said. "We both have things to learn from each other. In a large organization when a crisis occurs a team is put together that usually includes both areas. … I don't even talk to reporters before I talk to our PR people here. It's the only intelligent way to do it – to work together."

An attorney who says she has studied crisis management said, "If it's a crisis, sometimes the commercial risk will outweigh legal risks – prosecutions, regulations, class actions - legal risks. If you take the attitude that legal risk is paramount, then you can damage brand value and create lasting market share loss. A crisis is a business problem primarily about image and market share. ... In most cases, legal risk does not outweigh the need to tell the public what's happened and what you're doing about it."

Certainly there were lawyers in this sample who were more stereotypical in their responses regarding crisis communication. One of these lawyers said, "The idea of having comments being made is frightening no matter how well intentioned or how truthful they may be. There may be things said that lead unnecessarily to liability. Caution is the first and last priority. That's at odds to the public relations perspective where the point is to reassure the public and maintain confidence in the product or service."

He continued, "No comment [is] an unsatisfying answer for a public looking for reassurance. As painful as that might be in a short time span, and as many questions as it may raise, it is better than making an admission before you have your arms around the crisis. Once the ball in is play, you can't get it back from a legal standpoint."

From the public relations perspective

A public relations practitioner noted the benefit of public relations and legal departments working together and early on a crisis. He had an experience in a large class action lawsuit, similar to lawsuits other companies had faced. The public relations and legal people were brought in early. "[O]ther companies did only the legal perspective [in their crisis management]. Their outcome showed me that ours was a better process," he said. "Other companies waited a fair amount of time before they got their public affairs people involved. They didn't have a chance because public opinion was already fixed and they couldn't turn that around."

"Two years ago," one public relations professional said, "I went to one of our lawyers with a news release. I had the description of the product and the lawyer suggested wording that was more commercial in nature than I really expected. [I really appreciated that] they were able to put on a commercial hat."

One senior practitioner suggested a reason that legal and public relations counsel who work together begin to act as a team. "I've been amazed at the ease, new insights, understandings of problems and issues that really do intersect both areas." He noted that both professions "create ... future vision[s]" of what damage can be brought to the organization. "The communication person sees a crisis of error as playing itself out in the loss of reputation, customers, which underlies the premise and performance of the organization. The general counsel sees the errors playing themselves out with associated punishments or decisions." Therefore, he believes, the two professions – if they truly have the best interests of their organization in mind– naturally want to come together to fight for their common cause.

Some public relations practitioners argued that the relationship is inherently unbalanced. "PR professionals don't have a tangible case," one practitioner said. "Lawyers can base arguments on legal precedents, but PR professionals have to be more subjective. Law is tangible. Public perceptions are intangible."

Another argued, in a similar vein, "sometimes the deck is stacked against the public relations counsel. They're brought in late after a course of action has been set as suggested by legal counsel. Legal counsel is able to set forth examples of damages. Reputation damage is harder to defend with numbers. It falls to the leader [of the organization] to determine whether the legal or reputation damage is of more import."

Mythic Battles or Mutual Respect?

The data in this study indicate that the anecdotes of a disastrous relationship between lawyers and public relations practitioners may be changing. The "oil and water team" may be learning how to blend their responsibilities.

When asked how highly they regard members of the opposite profession generally, both lawyers and public relations practitioners were kind, but cautious. One public relations counselor responded to the question with a one-word answer: "Average." But when asked how highly she regards specifically the lawyers she works with, she said, "I've had a chance to work with lawyers who I highly respect and who I believe value communications input." This sort of appreciation for the professionals one knows and works with personally was evident among both lawyers and public relations practitioners.

In nearly every instance, in the interviews, if a respondent regarded the profession generally as less than stellar, she regarded the legal or PR professionals that she worked with as exemplary. Words like "very educated," "dedicated," "smart," "remarkably focused," "skilled in rhetoric and persuasion," and "detail oriented" emerged when public relations practitioners were asked what they thought of lawyers. Lawyers, in turn, defined public relations practitioners as "educated," "intelligent," and "professional."

One lawyer said, "Public relations as a function is incredibly important. A company's brand is most valuable. Public relations is important in helping marketing with defining the brand. It is prudent and important."

"[Public relations counselors] are educated, intelligent people in a demanding field," said another lawyer. "In some ways, I see them as analogous to counsel. They provide a service that they are uniquely skilled to provide."

Another lawyer critiqued, "I think often [PR practitioners] are not as well trained, as well schooled, as some other professionals."

A senior public relations counselor said of lawyers, "[They have] something to teach me. Skills and abilities that I think I can use. I regard them very highly."

"We, over the years, have developed a pretty good relationship between public affairs and legal," said another senior PR director. "[W]e've found ways to work together to both of our benefits. We've provided them value and they've enabled us to do a good job representing the company's image in the public front. Our relationship is an enviable one. I've had other practitioners relate that to me." But he added, "That doesn't always extend to lawyers that we contract. They usually don't want our help. They view that as a complicating factor that they have to manage."

"I regard highly the [lawyers] who are good listeners and help me find a solution rather than just say we can't do something and leave it at that," said another public relations practitioner. "I highly regard those who partner with me."

Yet another public relations counselor noted that she believes lawyers have desirable traits beyond that of their profession. "The most civic-minded, the most generous people I know are lawyers," she said. "I have a very high opinion of lawyers, much higher than the general public."

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But the lawyer/public relations practitioner world isn't completely rosy. There were responses from both professions that indicated there's still work to be done. "I would regard them as highly as they regard lawyers," said one lawyer when asked how he would regard public relations practitioners generally. "They are a necessary evil. Contemporary distrust of institutions has resulted from people putting a favorable spin on messages. I think so much of [public relations practitioners'] work product is blatantly manipulative." A public relations practitioner reflected on his opinion of lawyers: "As with any profession, there are lawyers who are brilliant and great with what they do. And there are those who graduated at the bottom of their class and whose ambitions may not be in the best interest of the public at large."

Implications

Perhaps the relationship between lawyers and public relations practitioners is not hopeless. The subjective responses that seeped out in this research indicate that lawyers believe public relations makes a meaningful contribution to crisis management. In fact, both lawyer types believed strongly that the public relations professional should be involved early in crisis management. This belief was underscored both in responses to the Q sorts and the interviews that followed.

Lawyers and public relations practitioners should make a point of working together before a crisis occurs – both on more routine projects and in preparation for crisis management. There is ample evidence, both empirical and anecdotal, that working relationships improve as familiarity and trust are developed. The solution is intuitive.

The Q sorts yielded distinct lawyer and public relations types when the 30 participants in the study were combined in one data set. This provides reasons to believe that public relations practitioners and lawyers do have distinctly different worldviews as evidenced by their subjective choices. This may be due to training, professional experience or personality type.

Finally, public relations practitioners need to work at understanding lawyers' values and motives. They should treat lawyers as they would any public – learning to know them and their ways of operating.

Appendices

Q-statements

1. Legal counsel should be involved in determining message.
2. Legal counsel encroaches on public relations ground in times of crisis.
3. Statements made can prove detrimental or fatal in a later legal proceeding.
4. Conduct all-out warfare against your critics.
5. Acknowledge the concerns of the other side.
6. Reveal as little as possible.
7. Assess corporate image as well as legal liability.
8. In most cases, the legal risk is greater than the need for public communications.
9. Public relations professionals expose the company to risk of legal liability by being too open.
10. A lawyer should scrutinize all public statements, written or oral, made by a company or its representative during a crisis.
11. Public relations professionals don't understand legal counsel.
12. Lawyers don't understand the importance of public attitudes.
13. Public relations has no place in the legal arena.
14. When an organization is embroiled in actual litigation, public relations counsel should have little input.
15. Saying "no comment" is tantamount to saying "we're guilty."
16. Visibly defend yourself by talking publicly, early and often.
17. Involve the public relations specialist early in the process.
18. A company's poor response to a crisis often stems from excessive concern for legal issues without consideration of how the company's relationships with the public will be affected.
19. It is imperative that public relations professionals become educated about legal issues and procedures that must be considered in communication planning.
20. Conflict between legal and public relations functions arise out of jealousy.
21. Conflict between legal and public relations functions arise out of lack of respect for each other's function.
22. Conflict between legal and public relations functions arise out of a fundamental lack of understanding of the other's discipline.
23. So many crises are created by lawsuits there is a growing need for lawyers and public relations practitioners to work together.
24. Public relations and legal functions frequently offer competing and adversarial approaches to problem-solving in the face of a conflict.
25. When PR and legal counsel work together, public relations people do more compromising than lawyers.
26. When PR and legal counsel work together, lawyers do more compromising than public relations practitioners.
27. A client is best served if legal and communications counsel work in concert.
28. Following a conflict between legal and public relations functions, the organization usually achieves its legal goals but loses public support.
29. I think open disclosure of misdeeds is appropriate most of the time.
30. I think the best crisis strategy is to voluntarily admit when a problem exists and then announce and implement corrective measures quickly.
31. I think the best crisis strategy is to say as little as possible and release information as quietly as possible.
32. I believe you should deny guilt.
33. The best way to deal with accusers is to talk tough.
34. Any communication with any public could jeopardize the company's case.

TABLE A Public Relations self-report				Lawyers' perceptions of PR practitioners			
Caring Collaborator		*Legal Eagle*		*Suspicious Meddler*		*Conscientious Communicator*	
Most Agree	**Most Disagree**	**Most Agree**	**Most Disagree**	**Most Agree**	**Most Disagree**	**Most Agree**	**Most Disagree**
17 Involve the PR specialist early z = 1.657	32 Deny guilt Z = -1.681	27 A client is best served if counsel work in concert z = 1.919	4 Conduct all-out warfare against critics z = -1.690	17 Involve the PR specialist early Z = 1.645	13 PR has no place in legal arena. Z = -1.813	27 A client is best served if counsel work in concert. Z = 2.012	34 Any communication with any public could hurt a legal case Z = -2.012
27 A client is best served if counsel work in concert z = 1.643	33 The best way to deal with accusers is to talk tough. Z = -1.450	17 Involve the PR specialist early z = 1.476	6 Reveal as little as possible. z = -1.520	18 Poor crisis response stems from concern for legal issues but not for relationships with publics Z = 1.554	14 When embroiled in actual litigation. PR should have little input Z = -1.598	17 Involve the PR specialist early Z = 1.709	31 Say as little as possible as quietly as possible Z = -1.417
7 Assess image as well as legal liability z = 1.632	31 Say as little as possible as quietly as possible. Z = -1.335	18 Poor crisis response stems from concern for legal issues but not for relationships with publics z = 1.392	31 Say as little as possible as quietly as possible. z = -1.482	7 Assess image as well as legal liability. Z = 1.502	8 Legal risk is greater than the need for PR Z = -1.481	30 Voluntarily admit problems, then announce and implement corrections Z = 1.628	14 When embroiled in litigation, PR should have little input. Z = -1.325
30 Voluntarily admit problems, then announce and implement corrections z = 1.407	14 When embroiled in litigation. PR should have little input. Z = -1.255	23 There is a growing need for lawyers and PR to work together. z = 1.266	11 PR professionals don't understand legal counsel. z = -1.225	27 A client is best served if counsel work in concert Z = 1.357	34 Any communication with any public could hurt a legal case Z = -1.281	19 PR professionals must become educated about legal issues Z = 1.109	13 PR has no place in legal arena. Z = -1.250
19 PR professionals must become educated about legal issues z = 1.298	8 Legal risk is greater than the need for PR z = -1.229	7 Assess image as well as legal liability z = 1.263	14 When embroiled in litigation, PR should have little input. z = -1.164	2 Legal encroaches on PR during crises Z = 1.196	9 PR exposes the company to legal risks by being too open. Z = -1.204	7 Assess image as well as legal liability. Z = 1.086	4 Conduct all-out warfare against critics. Z = -1.189
5 Acknowledge concerns of the other side. z = 1.230	34 Any communication with any public could hurt a legal case z = -1.188	19 PR professionals must become educated about legal issues z = 1.131	13 PR has no place in legal arena. z = -1.034	12 Lawyers don't understand the importance of public attitudes. Z = 1.131	10 Lawyers should examine all public statements during a crisis. Z = -1.103	3 Statements can prove detrimental in a later legal case Z = .989	33 The best way to deal with accusers is to talk tough. Z = -1.097
18 Poor crisis response stems from concern for legal issues but not for relationships with publics z = .878	4 Conduct all-out warfare against critics Z = -1.183	5 Acknowledge the concerns of the other side. z = .912	22 Conflict between legal and PR comes from not understanding the other's discipline. z = -1.022	23 There is a growing need for lawyers and PR to work together. Z = 1.101	31 Say as little as possible as quietly as possible. Z = -1.029	23 There is a growing need for lawyers and PR to work together. Z = .942	6 Reveal as little as possible. Z = -1.022
22 Conflict between legal and PR comes from not understanding the other's discipline. z = .874	13 PR has no place in the legal arena. Z = -1.019	30 Voluntarily admit problems, then announce and implement corrections z = .895	8 Legal risk is greater than the need for PR z = -.890	15 Saying "no comment" is like saying "we're guilty" Z = .846	6 Reveal as little as possible. Z = .936	29 Open disclosure of misdeeds is usually appropriate Z = .931	16 Talk publicly, early and often. Z = -.954

Statements are paraphrased. For complete statements see the Appendix.

*Shaded statements appear both in public relations practitioners' self-report and in lawyers' projections

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TABLE B	Lawyer self-report			PR practitioners' perceptions of lawyers			
Cooperative Colleague		*Confrontational Counselor*		*Involved Suppressor*		*Quiet Associate*	
Most Agree	Most Disagree	Most Agree	Most Disagree	Most Agree	Most Disagree	Most Agree	Most Disagree
27 A client is best served if counsel work in concert. Z = 1.961	4* Conduct all-out warfare against critics. Z = -1.740	27 A client is best served if counsel work in concert. Z = 1.771	15 Saying "no comment" is like saying "we're guilty." Z = -1.751	10 Lawyers should examine all public statements during a crisis. Z = 1.867	29 Open disclosure of misdeeds is usually appropriate Z = -1.721	1 Legal should help in determining message. Z = 1.832	12 Lawyers don't understand the importance of public attitudes. Z = -1.842
17 Involve the PR specialist early Z = 1.440	**34** Any communication with any public could hurt a legal case** **Z = -1.516**	3 Statements can prove detrimental in a later legal case Z = 1.765	4 Conduct all-out warfare against critics. Z = -1.549	3 Statements can prove detrimental in a later legal case Z = 1.622	30 Voluntarily admit problems, then announce and implement corrections Z = -1.554	10 Lawyers should examine all public statements during a crisis. Z = 1.772	18 Poor crisis response stems from concern for legal issues but not for relationships with publics Z = -1.588
19 PR professionals must become educated about legal issues Z = 1.381	13 PR has no place in legal arena. Z = - 1.496	17 Involve the PR specialist early Z = 1.369	13 PR has no place in legal arena. Z = -1.467	1 Legal should help in determining message. Z = 1.611	15 Saying "no comment" is like saying "we're guilty" Z = -1.360	3 Statements can prove detrimental in a later legal case Z = 1.536	29 Open disclosure of misdeeds is usually appropriate Z = -1.467
1 Legal should help in determining message. Z = 1.300	33 The best way to deal with accusers is to talk tough. Z = - 1.392	19 PR professionals must become educated about legal issues Z = 1.274	12 Lawyers don't understand the importance of public attitudes. Z = -1.195	**8 Legal risk is greater than the need for PR** **Z = 1.409**	**5 Acknowledge concerns of the other side** **Z = -1.314**	19 PR professionals must become educated about legal issues Z = 1.437	15 Saying "no comment" is like saying "we're guilty" Z = -1.263
7 Assess image as well as legal liability. Z = 1.283	**14 When embroiled in litigation, PR should have little input.** **Z = -1.388**	23 There is a growing need for lawyers and PR to work together. Z = 1.069	20 Conflict between legal and PR functions arise out of jealousy. Z = -1.045	9 PR exposes the company to legal risks by being too open. Z = 1.269	16 Talk publicly, early and often. Z = -1.295	**34 Any communication with any public could hurt a legal case.** **Z = 1.008**	16 Talk publicly, early and often. Z = -1.184
10 Lawyers should examine all public statements during a crisis Z = 1.011	**8 Legal risk is greater than the need for PR** **Z = -1.018**	32 Deny guilt. Z = 1.019	21 Conflict between legal and PR comes from a lack of respect Z = -1.030	**31 Say as little as possible as quietly as possible.** **Z = 1.125**	18 Poor crisis response stems from concern for legal issues but not for relationships with publics Z = -1.231	9 PR exposes the company to legal risks by being too open. Z = .987	2 Legal encroaches on PR during crises Z = -1.182
5 Acknowledge concerns of the other side **Z = 1.001**	**6 Reveal as little as possible.** **Z = -.967**	24 PR & legal often offer competing problem-solving approaches Z = .936	2 Legal encroaches on PR during crises Z = -1.008	**14 When embroiled in litigation, PR should have little input.** **Z = 1.054**	12 Lawyers don't understand the importance of public attitudes. Z = -.798	8 Legal risk is greater than the need for PR Z = .903	30 Voluntarily admit problems, then announce and implement corrections Z = -1.036
3 Statements can prove detrimental in a later legal case Z = .972	**31 Say as little as possible as quietly as possible.** **Z = -.885**	1 Legal should help in determining message Z = .910	**34 Any communication with any public could hurt a legal case** **Z = -.922**	**6 Reveal as little as possible.** **Z = 1.001**	4 Conduct all-out warfare against critics Z = - .747	24 PR & legal often offer competing problem-solving approaches Z = .831	28 After a conflict between legal & PR, legal goals are won, but public support is lost Z = -.934

Statements are paraphrased. For complete statements see the Appendix

*Shaded statements appear both in lawyers' self-report and in public relations practitioners' projections

**Bold-faced statements appear in both the self-report and the projection, but on opposite ends of the spectrum

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John-John's Salute:
How a Photographic Icon Influenced Journalistic Construction of Reality

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John-John's Salute: How a Photographic Icon Influenced Journalistic Construction of Reality

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Medium theory research has often focused on electronic media, ignoring the significant role still photography plays in constructing journalistic discourse. In a case study of photographic imagery and breaking news, this study analyzes how journalists used the 1963 iconic image of John F. Kennedy Jr. saluting his father's coffin in telling the story of "John-John's" death in 1999. Analysis shows that the photograph was used not just to relay factual information during a breaking news story, but to activate collective memories, construct a story of an American child-hero, and to perpetuate symbols of American social ideals.

John-John's Salute:
How a Photographic Icon Influenced Journalistic Construction of Reality

Meg Spratt
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Late 20th century communications research often focused on the power of electronic media and moving images to construct social reality. As a result, sometimes contentious debates about the influence of film, television, or new media continue into the 21st century. Absent in this debate is a systematic examination of widely recognized photojournalistic images -- particularly still images -- and their influence in the construction of social discourse.

More than 160 years after the invention of a practical photographic process, the still image continues to play a central role in journalistic discourse about American ideology, national self identity, and collective memory. Throughout the 1900s, a number of news photographs have achieved iconic status and are repeatedly appropriated and combined with explanatory text to define the American experience. Dorothea Lange's 1936 "Migrant Mother," Joe Rosenthal's 1945 "Old Glory Goes Up on Mt. Suribachi" and John Filo's 1970 "Girl Screaming at Kent State," each have been used repeatedly to negotiate American identity through news media. These definitions of national identity serve to reinforce the power and prestige of some individuals, groups, and institutions while marginalizing others. Examining how these images are used by journalistic publications is crucial in understanding the limited and subjective cultural cues audiences receive under the labels of "news" and "fact."

Breaking news coverage of John F. Kennedy Jr.'s death illustrates the remarkable impact iconic imagery can have in shaping journalistic discourse. On July 16, 1999, Kennedy, dubbed the "Heir to Camelot" by many news media outlets, died in the crash of his private plane, along with his wife, Carolyn Bessette Kennedy, and sister-in-law, Lauren Bessette. The news prompted repeated republications and descriptions of one of the most famous American photojournalistic icons: the 1963 image of 3-year-old Kennedy saluting his father's casket. In a case study of iconic imagery and journalistic discourse, this project analyzes the uses and description of the salute photograph in 12 major American news outlets as news about the search for Kennedy's plane developed.

According to American journalistic tradition, breaking news reports are characterized by neutral and objective factual details. Yet even before Kennedy's death was confirmed, journalists used an iconic visual image as the story unfolded not just to relay factual information, but to activate collective memories and audience emotions, construct a story of an American child-hero, and to perpetuate symbols of American social ideals. In doing so, they also conferred status upon the photographic image itself, designating it as a powerful shared symbol, without considering the possibility of varying audience interpretations. This use of a symbolic visual image within news text underscores the importance of news photography, particularly photojournalistic icons, in constructing a social reality independent of fact.

Literature Review

This study uses theoretical and methodological frameworks drawn from research on medium theory, ritual uses of media, collective memory, media texts in the construction and maintenance of national identity, and photography as symbolic discourse. First, medium theorists have made a persuasive argument that perceptions of reality are shaped not only by the message, but by the medium relaying the message. McLuhan's much-debated classic work (1964) approached media as extensions of the human senses, each requiring different forms of thinking. Like McLuhan, Meyrowitz (1992, 1997) contends that different media foster different social relations and cultural understanding. Citing surveys that show Americans find television news more believable than print news, Meyrowitz argues that television's visuals create vicarious intimacy, allowing individuals to form seemingly personal relationships with people pictured (1992, p. 460). Yet, while the still photograph is clearly a unique medium and a crucial component of both print and electronic news, medium theorists have ignored photojournalism's role in constructing cultural reality.

The study of media as ritual offers insights into the function of photojournalism in building news narratives. Researchers have observed that news media don't simply disseminate facts, they perform ritualistic functions in society (Bird & Dardenne, 1988; Carey, 1989, Rothenbuhler, 1998). James Carey, in particular, has promoted a ritual view of communication over the more traditional transmission view, explaining that a ritual view "is directed not toward the extension of messages in space, but toward the maintenance of society in time; not the act of imparting information but the representation of shared beliefs" (1989, p. 18). News media can function as a part of a ritual event, as they did when covering the 1963 Kennedy funeral. Dayan and Katz (1995) note that these formal media events have several functions including emphasizing the continuity of social identity, offering replacements for key symbolic roles in society, and responding to the threat of discontinuity in times of trauma. "So that each generation may find its place, key symbolic roles have to be filled by successive actors," write Dayan and Katz (p. 171). During times of trauma, they add, media coverage of events, such as the 1963 Kennedy funeral act as "shock absorbers" to maintain stability and contain damage (p. 172).

Media, then, play a key role in constructing the social meaning of the ritual through selected symbols and frames. This mediated reality construction through ritual is also important in the shaping of collective memory. As historians and social psychologists have noted, the construction of collective memory is central to national identity. French sociologist Maurice

Halbwachs (1980) argued that memories are not simply individual recollections of fact, but negotiated histories formulated through interactions with others. Thus, historical memories are fluid, constructed realities directly tied to issues and concerns of the present, often prompted by repeated media messages. Researchers have traced historical construction of many 20th century events, including the Great Depression, both world wars, Vietnam, and John F. Kennedy's assassination (Zelizer, 1992; Walker, 1995; Neal, 1998). While photographs from each of these events are continually republished and widely recognized, none of these studies consider the use of visual imagery in formation of collective memory, except in passing.

Formal commemoration and repetition of cultural symbols are key elements in this process of reality construction. Schwartz (1997) describes commemoration as "a system of interlocking symbols to which people turn to comprehend the world" (p. 47). American news media serve as regular vehicles for such national commemorations. Anniversaries of historical events are celebrated routinely, with news photographs illustrating nationally shared traumas and triumphs. Images of mushroom clouds, fallen leaders, and men on the moon are republished regularly to tell stories about American history. Iconic photographs can, as Schwartz puts it, "make sense of the world's structures and activities by keying them to the past" (p. 47).

Repeated themes within news texts and images also have been examined through a number of cultural and social scientific approaches. Often drawing from the work of Barthes (1977, 1981), semiologists have explored the encoding and decoding of signs within cultural artifacts, including photographic images. Clark (1997) writes that the photograph "encodes the terms of reference by which we shape and understand a three-dimensional world. It thus exists within a wider body of reference and relates to a series of wider histories, at once aesthetic, cultural and social." Hall (1997) notes that the encoding of such symbols can confer "symbolic power" or perform "ritualized expulsion" (p. 259), thus perpetuating traditional power structures within society.

Within communications studies, researchers have approached thematic analysis of news texts through frame analysis. The selection and identification of limited themes within news stories has been a focus of communication researchers for several decades. Tuchman (1978) observed that news media present information in narrow frames which, in turn, limit public discourse. Entman (1991) explained that "analysis of frames illuminates the precise way in which influence over a human consciousness is exerted by the transfer (or communication) of information." (p. 51) Scheufele (1999) further explicates the concept of framing by distinguishing between media frames and individual frames. Media frames, he explains, refer to construction of a news story, while individual frames refer to audience interpretations. Pan and Kosicki (1993) identify specific ways in which news frames are constructed. Perhaps most significant in the study of photographic icons is their discussion of rhetorical structures which, they explain, depend upon stylistic choices in imagery. Despite the perceived objectivity and neutrality of news photographs, photojournalists and editors sometimes consciously choose aesthetics over accuracy (Goldberg, p. 28).

A few studies have applied the search for cultural and political themes specifically to photojournalistic icons. Some media researchers note that still photography, unlike film or video, provides clear, often stunning, depictions of frozen moments in time (Goldberg, 1991; Sontag, 1977). Scholars, media critics and photographers have discussed at length commonalities of photographs that reach iconic status in America. Perlmutter (1998) lists a number of features shared by iconic photographs, including prominence and frequency of publication, historical and political importance of the event pictured, metonymy, and striking composition (pp. 12-18).

Barry (1997) writes that the capturing of a "critical moment" is central to a photograph's power in modern American culture. Such a moment "becomes an objective correlative for a profoundly shared national emotion, a metaphor of social or political significance, or a symbol summarizing some form of transcendent human struggle" (p. 148). Barry uses as one example the image of Jacqueline Kennedy hand-in-hand with son John at John F. Kennedy's funeral.

In yet another approach, Lucaites (1997) examines the duality of individualism and collectivism within 20th century documentary photography. While Lucaites' study specifically analyzes the depression era photography of James Agee and Walker Evans, the use of individual subjects to make broad societal statements is common to almost all photographs that have reached iconic status. And, as Lucaites points out, documentary photography's portrayal of "The People" ignores the truly fragmented nature of the American public and promotes a theme of national unity central to democratic ideology.

In addition to secular themes, researchers have identified classical and sacred symbols in iconographic photos. Newfield (1998), for instance, describes the famous 1968 image of Robert Kennedy as he lies wounded on the kitchen floor at the Ambassador Hotel: "The expression on Robert Kennedy's face seems serene and accepting, his arms spread, like Jesus on the cross" (p. 28). Goldberg (1991) makes a similar observation about Nick Ut's 1972 "Children Fleeing Napalm Attack." The terrified expression of the young boy on the left resembles the classic mask of tragedy, she notes, while the young nude girl in the center of the image holds her arms outstretched, a gesture again reminiscent of the crucifixion (p. 136).

Central to the concept of mediated reality construction are journalistic practices that contribute to editorial decisions. According to 20th century journalistic norms, hard news (also called breaking, straight, or spot news) is comprised of factual information. As one recent journalism textbook states: "Spot news is a newsworthy event that happened in the last 24 hours. Reporters respond to those events, interview officials, victims and witnesses, collect details from the scene, then follow a fairly standard and useful formula for writing it up, putting the most important details in the beginning, or lead of the story" (Stein & Paterno, 1998, p. 6).

However, Bennett (1996) notes that "the construction of news, like the social construction of other human realities, is a creative and largely intuitive process involving information processing, judgment, and the timing and management of events themselves" (p. 381). Yet these individual decisions are guided by an established set of journalistic rules which, writes Bennett, result in a repetition of familiar symbols representing cultural values within the news. The salute photo illustrates a number of these values.

The image of John F. Kennedy Jr. saluting his father's casket in November 1963 became an immediate favorite of media producers and commentators. The picture was captured both on film and as a still photograph by several members of the media. Since then, the image has been used in periodic news features commemorating the Kennedy assassination and as an example of the power of photography. Under the headline "Imprisoning Time in a Rectangle," *Time* magazine featured the photograph in its 1989 celebration of 150 years of photography. Likewise, numerous media outlets, both print and electronic, have included the image in the telling and retelling of the JFK assassination story. Long before John Kennedy Jr.'s death in 1999, his image became part of the media's ritualistic function. As Zelizer (1992) points out, "Repeated references to assassination images made the image-making technology a relevant tool in circumscribing memory." By July 1999, John-John's salute clearly had played a role in shaping journalistic discourse about American collective memory and national identity.

Method

Analysis of the Kennedy photograph is two pronged: First, using a semiotic approach, the study examines specific cultural symbols within the image, as well as signs that have been excluded, or cropped out, of the original frame. Second, by analyzing textual references to the image in breaking news coverage, the study identifies recurring frames (themes) constructed by news editors and writers.

The sample consists of 12 major American news services, newspapers or news web pages. The media outlets were chosen because of their wide circulations, national reputations, and their use of the Kennedy photograph. The focus of this study is on *how* major media organizations used the iconic photograph in the midst of breaking news, not *if* the photograph was used. Therefore, only outlets that published or described the images in their lead coverage were selected (however, only two outlets -- CNN and United Press International -- were dropped from the sample because their lead stories did not contain references to the salute photograph or other historic visual images).

The final sample consists of three wire services: Associated Press, Cox News Service, and Knight Ridder; two broadcast news web pages: MSNBC.com and CBS.com; and seven newspapers: *The Boston Globe, The Chicago Tribune, The Christian Science Monitor, The Los Angeles Times, The New York Times , USA Today* and *The Wall Street Journal.* Because this study focuses on breaking news coverage, only front page stories (in the case of newspapers) or lead stories (in the case of web pages and wire services) were analyzed. Feature stories, analysis, and photo spreads on inside pages or in secondary coverage were not included in the sample, unless part of a page 1 jump. The earliest news reports from each outlet were included in the sample. For the wire services and web pages, coverage from Saturday, July 17 was considered. For the newspapers, front page reports on July 18 were included in the sample. In the case of the *Wall Street Journal* and *Christian Science Monitor*, which do not publish on Sunday, front page stories on Monday, July 19 were analyzed.

Findings

Photo use and visual symbolism

The John-John salutes image was produced both as a still photograph and as a moving image. Pool photographers and cameramen covering the 1963 Kennedy funeral had ample chance to capture the choreographed moment on film. Perhaps the most widely-distributed still shot of the salute was from UPI photographer Stanley Stearns (an image now owned by the Bettmann-Corbis stock agency and distributed on July 17, 1999 by Reuters). Some media outlets also continue to republish still images taken from the video versions of the scene. Despite a wide variety of visual images to chose from, including shots of Caroline, the older Kennedy child, kissing her father's casket, the image of John-John saluting has been, for more than 30 years, the icon associated by media with the presidential funeral. In 1989, *Time* included the photograph among its list of "the greatest images of photojournalism" (Morrison, 1989).

A full-frame shot shows John Kennedy Jr. in the foreground with his right hand lifted to his temple. Behind him are his mother, in black dress and mourning veil, his sister Caroline, with her attention focused on a book or pamphlet she is holding, his grandmother Rose, his uncles Ted and Robert, and other mourners. Other versions of the image crop out Caroline, emphasizing John-John, his mother, grandmother and uncles. Still others show only a tight close-up of John-John.

The formal symbolism within the image is clear. The mourning dress, the somber expressions, and the military salute all denote death ... particularly the death of a national leader. Through cropping and captions, editors place emphasis on particular signs, encoding those signs with great cultural importance. The presence of several recognizable members of the powerful family signifies a patriarchal power structure. Even before John Kennedy Jr.'s death, journalists used the 1963 image to tell a story of male-dominated political power. Though the president's caisson is not visible, the salute signals the presence of the leader's body. His wife, mother, younger brothers, and children are gathering to say goodbye to the head of state, and head of the family. Young John, as the direct heir to the Kennedy legacy, is in the foreground, and is the only family member pictured offering a formal gesture of respect. The marginalization of Caroline is especially significant. Though she is the older child and presumably the one most cognitively aware and emotionally affected by the loss of her father, photographers, reporters, and editors choose to focus on the actions of the male child as symbolic of shared grief.

By the time Sunday July 18 newspapers went to press, a wide variety of visual images were available through news services. Some papers, like the *Chicago Tribune* and *The New York Times* chose as lead visuals *Boston Globe* staff photographs of search efforts along the Massachusetts beach. Others, such as the *Los Angeles Times*, used Reuters or AP file photos of John Kennedy Jr. and Carolyn Bessette Kennedy together, or head shots of Kennedy alone. The

Christian Science Monitor's lead photograph was unique in showing an international image: pedestrians in Hong Kong following the Kennedy news on a giant public television screen.

The John-John salutes image was used by the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Chicago Tribune*, CBS. com, and *USA Today* to accompany page 1 or lead stories in their initial coverage of the plane crash. Each used a different version of the image. CBS chose a tight horizontal shot taken from a video image. The *Los Angeles Times* published the Reuters' version, again cropped to show only John. The *Tribune* uses a full-frame AP file photo, clearly showing Caroline, Jacqueline, and Robert Kennedy. *USA Today* uses the same full frame shot, but merges it with a large head shot of Kennedy as an adult and a smaller wedding photo of Kennedy and Bessette in a captionless photo illustration. Each of the three media outlets which use a caption include the phrase "John F. Kennedy Jr. salutes," again emphasizing the importance of the formal military gesture. Both the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Tribune* refer to his age (the *Times* notes that the funeral took place on John's third birthday). These age references reinforce the status of Kennedy as a stoic child hero.

Textual references: How writers used "The Salute" to frame the news:

Kennedy's plane disappeared from the radar screens late on the night of Friday, July 16, 1999. By early Saturday morning, news organizations were reporting the loss. Associated Press reports of the missing plane were on the wire by 9:30 a.m. Eastern time ("JFK Jr.'s plane reported missing," 1999). By 9:44 a.m., the salute photograph was added as a central element in the AP story. Throughout the weekend, descriptions of the image within breaking news reports were common, even when the photograph itself was not reproduced. News media used the image to develop three themes in particular: The power of visual images in defining John F. Kennedy Jr.; Kennedy's place in American collective memory; and young John-John as a child hero. The three themes are distinct, yet intertwining, with each often appearing with another in the same story.

The Image: In referring to the salute photograph and other well-known images of John Kennedy Jr., all media outlets in the sample imply that photographic technology performed an active role in defining who he was to the public. Explicit discussion of photojournalism's significance in shaping discourse about Kennedy appeared in several of the stories. Four of the twelve news outlets offered a mini-analysis of the salute photograph's impact, thus directly conferring status on the image itself, rather than its content. The word "enduring" appeared repeatedly in connection with the image. CBS.com's lead story on July 17 began with such a reference: "It's a powerful and enduring image." In bold type alongside the article ran the observation that "The enduring moment of the Washington funeral came when the little boy stood saluting his father's flag-draped casket as it passed by St. Matthew's Cathedral" ("The heir to Camelot," 1999).

The New York Times echoed CBS's language in its lead story the following day: "After his father's assassination, the enduring image from the funeral came when Mr. Kennedy, then a little boy in a blue coat and shorts, saluted his father's casket" (Barstow, 1999). Cox News Service likewise labeled the image "an enduring symbol of national grief" but ignored the presence of still photographers as the reference continues: "He was caught by television cameras saluting the flag-draped coffin of his father, the slain president" (Dart & Newsmith, 1999).

The *Chicago Tribune* ran a breaking news story about the search and a separate profile piece on page one of its July 18 edition. The photo reference ran in the third paragraph of the lead news story: "Word that Kennedy might have been lost raced around the world, reviving one of the most moving images of modern times, the picture of 3-year-old "John-John" Kennedy saluting his assassinated father's coffin in 1963" (Anderson & Cole, 1999).

USA Today also comments on the power of the image, but ignores the role of journalists entirely in its creation, instead attributing the construction of reality to three-year-old John: "He creates one of the most vivid images of the century," writes reporter Rick Hampson, "when, at his mother's whispered instruction, he solemnly and innocently salutes his father's coffin as it rolls past. He remembers nothing of this, and, like the rest of his generation, comes to know it only from pictures" (Hampson, 1999).

In its page one obituary on July 19, the *Christian Science Monitor* alluded to the importance of the 1963 funeral visuals without explicitly mentioning the salute. Calling images of Kennedy an "intimate part of America's family album," the *Monitor* references a 1963 Life Magazine cover in which "He and his sister, confused and uncertain, clutched their mother's hands at his father's funeral" ("In Kennedy family," 1999).

These observations regarding the power of visuals indicate some level of journalistic self-awareness, but stop short of accepting any responsibility for construction of reality and perpetuation of cultural mythology. Primarily, the references to the power of the image confer status upon visual technology as a powerful conveyer of cultural truth. The other two predominant themes -- collective memory and John as a child hero -- also insert American myth into breaking news, with no accompanying glimmer of self analysis.

Collective memory: Three of the news outlets in the sample directly link the 1963 photograph to the formation of national collective memory, suggesting that the American public respond to media images as a single unit. On Saturday, while officials at the scene of the search still discussed the possibility of rescue, the Knight Ridder/Tribune News Service ran a retrospective of Kennedy's public life. Dallas Morning News reporter Susan Feeney led the story with references to a pair of decades-old photographs: "John F. Kennedy Jr. won America's heart as a toddler, peering out from beneath his father's Oval Office desk. But it was in tragedy that the nation bonded with 3-year-old "John-John" as he saluted his slain father's casket" (Feeney, 1999).

The *Los Angeles Times* began its lead page 1 story on July 18 with a similar connection. "He is etched in America's memory," wrote staff writer Lisa Getter, "as the little boy in the blue coat and the short pants who saluted the bronze coffin bearing his father, the president, as it passed by him that horrible November day in 1963" (Getter, 1999). The story, a profile of Kennedy, shared the front page with two other Kennedy related articles, one about the continuing search for the crashed plane, and another focusing on the Kennedy family's sorrow.

The *Boston Globe's* lead article on July 18 began with another reference to the Oval Office photograph of young John-John: "John F. Kennedy Jr., who crawled out from under his father's Oval Office desk into a life of tragedy-tinged celebrity was presumed dead yesterday," the Globe reported (Zuckoff & Brellis, 1999). Collective memory prompted by the salute photo played a prominent role in a sidebar commentary by David M. Shribman: "...the fearful phrase - John F. Kennedy is dead - has a special meaning and triggers, for many, a cascade of emotion and memory: The flag-draped casket. The widow's unfailing courage. The funeral Mass in St. Matthew's Cathedral. The foghorn voice of Cardinal Richard Cushing. The skirling of the bagpipers from the Black Watch. The gathering of world leaders from France's Charles de Gaulle to Canada's Lester Person.

And the salute, unbearably brave, of the president's son..." (Shribman, 1999)

Creation of a child hero: Like the *Boston Globe*, several news organizations attached subjective evaluations to John-John's salute. Journalists' described the 3-year-old's action as "brave" or "poignant" while the search for the plane continued. On July 17, just hours after the search began, MSNBC's web page carried multiple Kennedy stories. While the lead article focused primarily on the missing plane and search efforts, a reference to the salute photo appears late in the story: "His father's slaying in 1963 immediately thrust him into the public eye with the poignant photo of the boy saluting as his funeral procession passed" ("Debris found from JFK Jr.'s plane," 1999). On the same day, CBS.com referred in the first sentence of its lead story to "a 3-year-old boy in a blue coat and shorts, bravely fighting back tears as he salutes his father's casket. The only surviving son of the 35th president of the United States, he was the young prince and heir to the throne of Camelot" ("The heir to Camelot," 1999).

USA Today's coverage on July 19 fully developed the hero theme by offering an analogy to Greek tragedy: "For decades the Kennedy saga has been compared to a Greek tragedy, but the Greeks never imagined an epic so harrowing or prolonged as this chronicle of assassination, accident, addiction and abuse ... They never imagined anyone like the little boy with the short pants and the snappy salute who helped America through its first televised national trauma, or the young man who seemed to have transcended his family's curse" (Hampson, 1999).

Discussion:

Analysis of the use and descriptions of the John-John salutes photograph during the search for John Kennedy's plane illustrate two points. First, despite traditional definitions of "breaking" or "hard" news, journalists do far more than relay facts to the public during national news events. Instead, journalistic accounts during unfolding news stories are embedded with cultural values and symbols. Secondly, even in text-based news, visual images play a central role in story-telling. This dependence by writers upon widely recognized photographs as cultural cues for their audience is a point often ignored by medium theorists who focus their analysis on the nature of electronic media rather than on the continued pervasiveness and power of individual still images.

The republication of a 1963 iconic image along with breaking news coverage of a contemporary event attached specific cultural symbols to the facts filtering in from the scene of the search for Kennedy's plane. The image of a handsome child offering a military gesture as part of a choreographed national ritual perpetuates positive values attached to patriarchy, power and maleness in American culture. Likewise, the description of the photograph within news text developed narratives which imposed national mythology on an individual event. The references to the iconic image complement other repeated themes appearing in news of the search for

Kennedy's plane. Many news reports explicitly linked Kennedy to royalty. Calling him "The heir to Camelot," in its national page headline, CBS.com added the subhead "Raised as the son of American Royalty" (The heir, 1999) Also relying on the Camelot theme, the *Chicago Tribune* called him "a modern Prince Charming," "a dashing royal prince," and "high on charm, low on body fat," all within the headline and first two paragraphs of a page 1 story. (Warren and Killan, 1999). *People* magazine's 1998 designation of Kennedy as "the sexiest man alive" also appears repeatedly in page one coverage, sometimes linked to the royalty theme. *The New York Times*, for instance, uses the word "crowned" to describe the bestowal of *People* magazine's contrived title upon Kennedy.

The 1963 photo was not the only visual image described within news text during the search for Kennedy's plane. The *Christian Science Monitor*, for instance, refers within its lead story to a 1960 *Life* cover, showing John in a white play suit, chewing on a toy rooster ("In Kennedy family saga," 1999). Associated Press notes that Kennedy posed nude in his magazine, *George*. (Noonan, 1999). The *Chicago Tribune* refers to multiple visual images of Kennedy as an adult, from photographs of him in a cast after breaking his ankle in 1999 to various images of him skating, walking a dog, and fighting with Carolyn Bessette. All these visual references point to the central role photography holds in shaping news discourse, but it is the iconic 1963 image that most commonly appears to anchor the crash story in national mythology and to illustrate the cultural importance of John F. Kennedy Jr. as the attractive heir to a patriarchal dynasty.

This study is designed to analyze how journalists frame news and create narratives through the use of iconic imagery. However, another crucial factor in the construction of public discourse, national identity and collective memory needs further attention. Very little work has been done regarding audience readings of these journalistic accounts and the accompanying visual images. Iconic news photographs, including the photograph of young John Kennedy, have been assumed to have powerful and uniform emotional effects on a wide audience. Perlmutter (1998) notes that direct audience responses to media outlets have indeed indicated that visual images can have a swift and deep impact on individual's emotions. However, he concludes that photographs commonly accepted as icons by media professionals are not necessarily recognized by all audiences. This observation leads him to the question, "Whose icons are these anyway?" (p. 9) -- a question that deserves further study.

Though further research is needed to understand audience roles in the formation of national identity and collective memory, this case study is designed to fill a gap in current communications research by examining how a historic photojournalistic image was used by journalists to construct a story in the midst and confusion of breaking news. By unpacking and examining symbolic, subjective meanings attached to a single image, analysis of the Kennedy photo offers insights into how visual images are used by supposedly neutral journalists to define and explain a cultural system and support the existing power structure. As evidenced by the Kennedy photograph, news organizations continue to rely on the basic, yet powerful, still photograph to tell stories, create a sense of vicarious intimacy, build national identity, and construct historical "truths," often presenting a limited and contrived version of reality. By examining the role of the 1963 salute image in the telling of a news event almost four decades later, this study provides a better understanding of the pervasiveness of visual symbolism within news, and of how history, collective memory and cultural myth invade seemingly factual news reports.

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